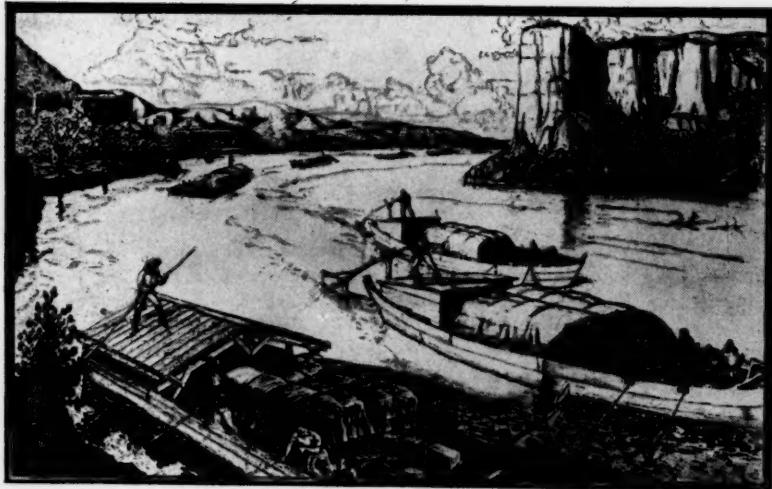


Missouri Historical Review



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Missouri Historical Review

Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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WILLIAM HIRTH AND THE MISSOURI FARMERS' ASSOCIATION

BY THEODORE SALOUTOS*

Occasionally there comes along an individual who so dominates a movement that it becomes impossible to speak of one without constantly referring to the other. William Hirth, the founder and for many years the head of the Missouri Farmers' Association, was that kind of a person. Bismarckian in temperament, indefatigable, and possessed of all the attributes of a one man farmers' movement, he started from the "grass roots" and helped build, rung by rung, a farmers' organization the agencies of which did an annual business running into the millions. Hirth was one of the lesser-known farm leaders of the nineteen twenties and thirties, with a strong local following, but he performed a role which reflected the sentiments of a much larger segment of the farm population.

Information about his early years is scanty. What little is known Hirth has made available through his writings, his interviews with newspapermen, his personal remarks, and what he told his contemporaries who, in turn, have passed this on. Granted that this is hardly the most reliable type of material for a historian to work with, still what little of this is available is of some help.

Hirth was born in Tarrytown, New York, on March 28, 1875, of German parents who had migrated to the United States several years earlier. His parents moved to Missouri when he was only three years old,¹ a logical place for them to come since there were thousands of German farmers in the state. No doubt his early years here must have added much to

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¹*Kansas City Star*, January 5, 1936.

his knowledge of the people. Contemporaries say that his hold on the German farming communities was great, yet his influence was hardly confined to them alone.³

His farmer organization activities began when, as a youth of sixteen, he joined the Farmers' Alliance of Audrain County.⁴ These were important formative years, which he later acknowledged as having contributed to his thinking on farm problems. The political complexion that the Alliance was developing left him with the feeling that the movement would be a temporary one, not in the sense that farmers had no cause to battle for their rights through political organization but rather owing to his belief that political action in itself was hardly the answer to their many problems.⁵ If anything, he felt that their goal should be "production cost and a reasonable profit," and the best way by which to bring this about was to have the farmers own and control the agencies through which they marketed their products. Such marketing mechanisms promised to implement their political demands, bring added profits, and encourage them "to stick." It is true that the Grange and the Alliance had also erected marketing associations, yet they placed no stress on "production cost," and the business failures that followed in the wake of so many of their enterprises tended to discredit their efforts.⁶

Little is known of the actual extent of Hirth's participation in Alliance affairs. It is logical to assume that he must have made a favorable impression locally because he was elected secretary and lecturer of the Audrain County Alliance, which at the time was considered one of the strongest in the state. This must have helped pave the way for him to take a bigger role in the presidential campaign of 1896.

Paternal political affiliations apparently had a negative reaction on him. His father was a stalwart Republican, but he, after the independent fashion that was so typical of him, took an active role in behalf of the Democratic candidate, William

³Interview with a Missouri Farmers' Association official.

⁴William Hirth, *The Romance of the Missouri Farmers' Association* (Columbia, 1934), p.1.

⁵William Hirth, *The Great Farm Club Movement in Missouri* (Columbia 1920?), pp.4-6.

⁶Hirth, *The Romance of the Missouri Farmers' Association*, p.1

Jennings Bryan. At first the crowds to which Hirth was assigned to speak were small; but as the clouds of political battle began to thicken, his audiences increased in size. Now if this campaign of 1896 impressed Hirth with the needs of the farmers, the big cry of the Democrats and Populists that year left no such lasting impression on him. As head of the Missouri Farmers' Association, he seldom, if ever, sounded the cry of the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one."

Hirth attended college, yet little is known of his career as a student other than that he spent a year at McGee College in Macon County, when nineteen years old, paying his way with money he made from the sale of "books, maps and building and loan stock," and then spent two more years at Central College in Fayette, from which institution he never graduated. He gave the lack of finances as his reason.

Next, Hirth became an insurance salesman. He entered into this vocation shortly after his college career had ended for the avowed purpose of making some money and gaining experience in dealing with the public. In later years he said that this was an invaluable aid to him. Hirth said that during the first year he worked for the New York Life Insurance Company he became a member of its "\$100,000 club," and the next year he joined the "\$200,000 club." Why he left a field that seemed to have been as profitable to him as he intimated may cause one to wonder. The only explanation offered is that the work failed to give him the satisfaction that he craved. Apparently, he wanted something more challenging for his rebellious spirit.*

From a brief career selling insurance, followed by an equally brief career in studying law, Hirth next turned his attentions to journalism. He bought *The Columbia Statesman* and published it for six years.* In 1908 he bought *The Missouri Farmer and Breeder* which in 1914 came to be known as *The Missouri Farmer*.* Hirth realistically observed that it would have been

**Kansas City Star*, January 6, 1936.

*1905-1911.

**The Missouri Farmer*, IV, (February, 1912), p.8.

impossible for him to organize the farmers "without a mouth-piece of some kind."¹⁰

Hirth was not alone in his efforts to organize the farmers. While he was laying the groundwork for the Farm Clubs, the American Society of Equity was functioning after a fashion in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas; the Farmers' Union had started to infiltrate into the Middle West, especially into Kansas and Nebraska; and the Nonpartisan League was in the process of being born in North Dakota.¹¹ As for Missouri, neither the Grange, the Farm Bureau, nor the Farmers' Union were unknown quantities, yet the facts are that these groups failed to make the appeal that Hirth and his organization did.¹²

The times seemed to point to the need for an effective organization. The Missouri State Board of Agriculture had pleaded with the farmers of the state to organize, and it seems to have had very little effect. Meanwhile, the county agents had been making headway across the country, and the Missouri farmers were among those who saw merit in their work. Equally important were the campaigns to cut down marketing costs.¹³ Once the European war broke out and prices had started to rise, the farmers found themselves in a better position to pay dues.¹⁴

¹⁰Hirth, *The Romance of the Missouri Farmers' Association*, p.1.

¹¹See author's articles on "The Wisconsin Society of Equity," *Agricultural History*, XIV (April, 1940), pp.78-95; "The Rise of the Equity Cooperative Exchange," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXII (June, 1945), pp.31-62; and "The Rise of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota," *Agricultural History*, XX (January, 1946), pp.43-61.

¹²In 1916 the membership of the Missouri State Grange was placed at about 3,000. See *The Missouri Farmer*, VIII, (September 1, 1916), p.10. Figures for the Farmers' Union are unavailable for the years 1915 and 1916. According to Charles S. Barrett in *The Mission, History and Times of the Farmers' Union* (Nashville, 1909), pp.103-107, the membership of the Farmers' Union in 1908 was 16,836. According to F. K. Carter, *The Grange in Missouri 1878-1939* (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Missouri, 1940), p.187, in 1920 the Farmers' Union had nineteen county unions and was planning a vigorous campaign during the fall and winter of 1920. The Missouri Farm Bureau was organized on March 24, 1915. See Missouri State Board of Agriculture, *The Missouri Year Book of Agriculture . . . 1922 Fifty-fourth Annual Report*, p.370.

¹³*The Missouri Farmer and Breeder*, II, (July, 1910), p.9; *The Missouri Farmer*, V, (April, 1913), p.14; *ibid.*, VI (November 1, 1914), p.12; *ibid.*, VIII (January 15, 1916), p.3; Missouri State Board of Agriculture, *The Missouri Year Book of Agriculture . . . Forty-ninth Annual Report*, 1917, pp.231-232.

¹⁴See "Index Numbers of Missouri Farm Prices by Months, 1910-39" given on a month per month basis in Herman M. Haag, *Missouri Farm Prices since 1910*, University of Missouri, Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 312 (Columbia, 1940) pp.18-19.

In other words, the Missouri farmers were prepared psychologically and financially to accept the program that Hirth had to offer them.

Little of the reasoning that Hirth used to spur the farmers on was original. These same arguments had been advanced time and time again by the Grange, the Alliance, the Equity, and the Farmers' Union, and in many instances they had been recited with more telling effect.

From the start Hirth tried to impress the farmers with their weakness over the bargain counter by emphasizing their helplessness as buyers and sellers. For instance, he recited that when the farmer sought to buy "a plow, a suit of clothes or a pair of shoes," he had to pay the price asked by the merchant; and when he had something to sell, it was the "Packers' Combine" that told him how much it would give him for his hogs, cattle, and sheep, and the grain merchant who told him how much it would pay for his wheat. It was in helplessness such as this that Hirth found the chief causes for the rise in mortgages, tenancy, and the exodus from the country to the city.

Equally weak was the influence of the farmers in the legislative chambers of Congress. Here Hirth compared their position with that of organized labor and the processors by calling their attention to "the labor leaders of 400,000 railway trainsmen [who] took Congress by the throat and gave it so many hours in which to pass a so-called 8 hour law," and the equally alarming situation that developed when this same Congress allowed a resolution to investigate "the Packers' Combine" to die in the committee room. Here was a group of "ruthless industrial foot-pads" who were seeking to destroy the nation. He exhorted the farmers to rise to the needs of the hour because he believed that they comprised "the only class" which had the power "to rescue the Republic from these selfish forces with whom 'might makes right.'"¹⁴

Hirth also placed stress on the need for effective farm leadership. Agriculture had to have leaders, but by this he did not mean simply "a dirt farmer," or one who "has a fog-horned voice, and in murdered diction swears dire vengeance" upon all who oppose him. Much more was required. Leaders were

¹⁴Hirth, *The School House Farm Club* (Columbia, n.d.), pp.1-3.

needed who were as capable as those who led labor, men who studied public questions and who were capable of delivering forceful public speeches. The farmers had in their midst men with "natural mental endowments," and with capacities that often were equal, if not superior, to those possessed by the average Congressman. Men such as these had to be singled out and trained,¹⁵ and if only the farmers stood together, shoulder to shoulder, behind such leaders, he explained, "there isn't a power under the sun that can say them 'nay.'"¹⁶

Hirth saw merit in urging farmers to use more scientific methods; agriculture always needed such counsel, but this, in itself, was a far cry from satisfying their wants. Much more was needed than the traditional advice of raising two blades of grass where only one had grown before. Counsel such as this might have been well-intentioned, but it was equally misguided, especially when it was offered as a cure-all. Such advisors had to be reminded that what the farmers had to have was "a square deal" for the first blade of grass before they grew the second.¹⁷

First and foremost, said Hirth, the farmers needed "production cost" plus a reasonable profit, and the quicker they sensed this the sooner would they be duplicating the practices of the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers, and organized labor, and the more likely would they be to get a fair price for their efforts. The farmers owed it to themselves to stop selling their livestock on "the hoof," and to begin building their own packing plants, to process their own animals, and sell their dressed beef, hams, and bacon directly to the retailers and consumers. Farmers also had to build their own mills and sell their flour directly to the consumer. Putting it otherwise, they had to take over ownership and control of the agencies through which their products normally reached the consumers, because only in this fashion would they be able to regulate their prices after the manner that others regulated the prices of the goods they sold to the farmers. Nothing short of this would assure the future of the American farm.¹⁸

¹⁵Kansas City Times, August 14, 1923.

¹⁶Hirth, *The School House Farm Club*, p.3.

¹⁷Hirth, *The Romance of the Missouri Farmers' Association*, p.2.

¹⁸Hirth, "A Farm Club Address" (Columbia, 1921), pp.1-4. A leaflet.

Hirth had strong aversions to building farmers' stores. In advising this he simply was pulling out a page from the unhappy history of the early Granger stores which had run square into the opposition of the town merchants. In any controversy involving the town merchant and the farmers, he said that bankers would take a hand ultimately, because the merchants were heavy borrowers with interests that could not be ignored. Good will among townspeople was something that the farmers had to encourage, on the theory that a good town provided markets for the farmers, helped keep up land values, and created "an interesting social atmosphere" which, in turn, helped to keep the farmers' children a bit more content with rural life. These farmer stores also had to be avoided because they often had succumbed to poor management. Briefly, bitter and unhappy business experience, the need for preserving good relations between town and country, plus the belief that the merchants were people with legitimate functions to perform, which invariably contributed to the welfare of the farmers, were adequate reasons why the farmers should avoid entering into these mercantile pursuits.¹⁸

Hirth, besides having some positive views as to what the farmers should avoid, had a "grass roots" formula for organizing them. The first task was to organize a Farm Club in "as nearly every school house surrounding a given shipping point as possible," and to make this the nucleus for the county and the state wide associations. Once a sufficient number of locals were organized, the members could begin thinking in terms of mass buying; but unless these clubs were first organized in sufficient force, the members were in no position to save by making purchases in carload lots. It was the school house, rather than a larger unit, that was made the focal point of organization because it was within easier reach of the farmers and hence would give them "no excuse to stay away on the meeting nights." "Bear constantly in mind," counseled Hirth, "your community should be organized solidly, once you have started the initial club—for it requires 200 or 300 farmers at every

¹⁸Hirth, "To the Country Merchant" (Columbia, 1921) p.1. A leaflet; Hirth, *The Great Farm Club Movement in Missouri*, p.5; *The Missouri Farmer*, XII (December 1, 1920), p.3.

shipping point to insure real success and therefore this organization should be done before you think of trying to settle down to permanent business.¹⁸

This thorough, methodic procedure was repeated again and again. Whenever it was possible Hirth personally tried to help a potential local club get off to a good start, but when it was impossible for him to be present, as must have been the case, much, if not most, of the time, the local organizer arranged to have a typical Hirth organization speech read to the audience. As a rule, the leading farmers of the district and the adjoining areas were invited to attend the first meeting. Once the purpose had been made clear a vote was taken on whether to form a club. When an affirmative decision was made, the next task was to elect officers and to adopt the constitution and bylaws recommended by *The Missouri Farmer*. Next, an "organizing squad" was formed to organize the neighboring districts, and even to start "making up a carload order of coal, fertilizer, mill feed, flour, tankage, etc." moving from one district to another. Hirth had a dual purpose in opposing hired organizers: first, because the cost was too high; and second, because the farmers had to be made to understand that either they had to work to pull themselves out of the ditch, or else suffer to see themselves stay there.

Once twelve or fifteen clubs were organized, the next move was to select a local manager, who was to be paid for the time he actually spent in service, and who, among other things, was expected to keep informed on the price of the various needs of the members.

In 1919 the Farm Clubs were financed by the payment of annual dues of \$2.50. Of this sum, fifty cents went to the Missouri Farmers Association, the state body, fifty cents to the local club, fifty cents to the county association, and one dollar to *The Missouri Farmer*, the official organ for the state. During the second year \$1.50 was forwarded to the state organization, fifty cents to the local club, and fifty to the county association. These dues were small, especially when compared with what some organizations charged. Farm club organizers sought to forestall any criticism by telling prospective members that the

¹⁸Hirth, "A Farm Club Address," p.4.

savings they would realize from the purchase of the first barrel of flour would be enough to pay their dues.

Hirth strove to impress the farmers with the need for supporting *The Missouri Farmer*. It had taken a big part in starting the farm club movement. Without its efforts the launching probably would have been delayed for it kept the members posted on activities, distributed large quantities of free literature, and assumed charge of negotiations for the purchase of farm supplies while the movement was still in its infancy. All types of organizations had official organs and it was only logical for the farm clubs to support one also, according to Hirth.

As soon as 1000 or 1200 farmers were organized around different points, they prepared to set up a county association. Forming county associations with a nucleus of only 300 or 400 members was discouraged, because this number was considered too small. The duties of the county secretary were to keep in touch with the state association, look after the needs of the Farm Clubs, and maintain a farmers' exchange where the members could list free of charge whatever they had to sell. Such an exchange was expected to bring buyers and sellers together.²⁰

The first Farm Club was organized in 1914 in Chariton County.²¹ From there the movement spread rapidly. By July, 1916, the number of Farm Clubs was put at about 500.²² In April, 1918, membership in the Farm Clubs was estimated to have been around 40,000²³ and in October some 62 out of the 114 counties were reported as organized.²⁴ In mid-September 1920 the paid-up membership was placed at 34,242.²⁵

Early in 1917 steps were taken to organize the Missouri Farmers' Association. On January 2 and 3 a temporary state association was formed by the county associations. The first state convention of the permanent body assembled in Sedalia

²⁰This method for organization is covered in loquacious and rambling form in Hirth, "A Farm Club Address, Prepared Especially for Farm Club 'Organizing Squads'" (Columbia, 1919?).

²¹Hirth *The Romance of the Missouri Farmers' Association*, p.1.

²²*The Missouri Farmer*, VIII, (July 1, 1916), p.4.

²³*Ibid.*, X, (April 1, 1918), p.4.

²⁴*Ibid.*, X, (October 1, 1918), p.4.

²⁵*Ibid.*, XII, (September 15, 1920), p.20.

on August 28, 1917, attended by 340 delegates from thirty-eight counties.²⁸

The government of the Missouri Farmers' Association and the authority for shaping its commercial policy was vested in a board of thirty-two directors, including two from each congressional district, except the 10th, 11th, and 12th which were located in St. Louis and were represented by six directors at large. These men designated the commercial lines that the farm clubs were to handle, with the hope that a definite statewide policy would be established. Every county association agreed not to invade the regular commercial lines except on items such "as flour, feed, coal, farm seeds, fertilizers, binder twine, drain tile, salt, etc." and others that were approved by the organization. The motto adopted in the "Articles of Purpose" was "Production cost, together with a reasonable profit for the fruits of the farmers' sweat and toil."²⁹

Hirth had strong views about rival farmer organizations. He saw no good reason for bringing another national farmers' organization into existence. This simply would add another one of the impersonal type of organization: besides, the way things were, there was "too much organization from the top," which left the average farmer, who was too busy making a living, out of touch with the organization. Laudable though such efforts were, he felt that nothing good could be accomplished unless the beginnings were made with "a few farmers out in the country districts." He believed that a strong state organization, which could show large earnings for its members, was preferable to a straggling and sprawling national body with a lot of weak state bodies.³⁰

He granted that the Grange, the oldest order, was a worthy one which deserved something better than censure. Still the fact remained that it had developed into "a splendid social rather than a corrective force." Hence, despite all that could be said in its favor, it fell short of meeting the needs of the farmers "when

²⁸H. E. Klinefelter, "History of the Missouri Farmers' Association," in *Training Course for Missouri Farmers' Association Employees*, (University of Missouri, Columbia, March 10-14, 1941), pp.1-2.

²⁹*The Missouri Farmer*, IX, (September 15, 1917), pp.4-5.
³⁰*Ibid.*, VIII, (June 15, 1916), p.8.

the house is on fire."³² Putting it otherwise, there were more important goals for the farmers to seek than "a more interesting rural life."³³

Hirth was even more positive in his condemnation of the Nonpartisan League which he referred to as "the Socialistic dream."³⁴ He denounced it as constituting the greatest menace facing the nation, and as the vehicle through which the radicals hoped to ride into power at the end of the war.³⁵

The arch rival of the Missouri Farmers' Association was the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation that had been organized in Slater in 1915 about a year after the first Farm Club was organized in the state. Of the thirty-four men present at this state meeting, representing ten counties, seven were "Farm Advisors," or county agents.³⁶

Hirth said that there was no reason for the Farm Bureau and the Missouri Farmers' Association to quarrel, especially if the former kept in mind that the original purpose for which it came into being was to work for more efficient production. In fact, the Farm Bureau and the county agents were organized on the principle of raising two blades of grass where only one had grown before. But if the Farm Bureau moved bodily into the realm of marketing it was inviting friction; because only disunion and demoralization would result if rival grain elevators, produce exchanges, livestock shipping associations, terminal firms, and cold storage plants came into existence; and they would leave the farmers just as helpless as if there were no marketing agencies in operation.³⁷

Several efforts were made to bring about a merger of the two. In 1921 a "peace treaty" was offered by the Missouri Farmers' Association to the Bureau on the premise that competing state organizations were harmful, rather than beneficial to the farmers.³⁸ This proposed merger never materialized.

³²Hirth, *The Great Farm Club Movement*, p.4.

³³Hirth, *The Romance of the Missouri Farmers' Association*, p.1.

³⁴*Kansas City Times*, March 25, 1921.

³⁵Hirth, "What Kind of a Country Shall We Have When the War Ends?" (Columbia, 1918?), p.4.

³⁶Missouri State Board of Agriculture, *The Missouri Year Book of Agriculture . . . 1922 Fifty-fourth Annual Report*, p.370.

³⁷*The Missouri Farmer*, XII, (September 15, 1920), p.8.

³⁸*Ibid.*, XIII, (September 15, 1921), p.9.

In 1924 another effort was made and was again rejected by the Farm Bureau on the grounds that this would mean its extinction as well as its acceptance of "a Producers' Contract" as a condition precedent to its becoming a member of the Missouri Farmers' Association.²⁸

In view of the feeling of Hirth toward the Farm Bureau, it came as no surprise to see him take the stand that he finally took against the county agents. He conceded that they had done a commendable piece of work during the war years in getting the farmers to step up their production, but what friendliness he had shown toward them then, and in the pre-war days, turned into open hostility once the fighting had stopped. With some persuasion he argued that since the county agents originally had been committed to a program for bigger and better production, it was doubtful whether this would be a wise policy to pursue in the post-war years. These county agents cost money, and in view of the size of the war debt it was urgent that "public expenditures should be guarded with a zealous eye." Likewise, he reasoned that "the farmers of any given county should have the right by vote or petition to declare whether or not they want such County Agent."²⁹

Hirth had mixed feelings about the Missouri College of Agriculture. He was generous in his praise of the research and experiments that it sponsored, of its efforts to encourage better crops, soil and livestock improvements, and of the campaigns it waged against animal and plant diseases. In these respects, the College of Agriculture, along with similar institutions in other states, returned to the farmer ten dollars for every dollar he spent. But at this point Hirth stopped. He was especially critical of the college because he believed that its hands were tied when the interests of the farmers conflicted with those of more powerful groups.³⁰

There was also some feeling of antagonism toward the college as a result of personal antipathies. While such a feeling could hardly be chalked up to everyone belonging to the organization, yet it was there and it did not help promote good

²⁸*Ibid.*, XVI, (May 15, 1924), pp.8-9.

²⁹*Ibid.*, XI, (January 15, 1919), p.16.

³⁰*Ibid.*, XI, (May 1, 1919), p.3.

relations between the association and the college as long as Hirth was at the helm.³⁹

Another reason for opposition was the support that the college was giving to the Farm Bureau. The extension service, including the county agents connected with the college, was accused of trying to undermine the Farm Clubs by trying to persuade them to adopt its own methods for organization. This was a violation of the purpose for which the organization of county agents was founded. According to Hirth, the county agents' goal was to encourage bigger and better production rather than to engage in business activities as did the Farm Clubs and similar farmer business groups.⁴⁰

If Hirth was unfriendly toward the Farm Bureau, he showed a friendlier attitude toward the Farmers' Union with which he was prone to cooperate. The first of such joint efforts came late in the summer of 1920 when the price of wheat had dropped drastically. The Missouri Farmers' Association joined hands with the Farmers' Union of Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma for the dual purpose of trying to raise the price of No. 2 wheat to three dollars a bushel, and also to finance livestock shipping and grain associations on the terminal markets of Kansas City and St. Joseph. This move brought forth eloquent testimonials of what "the first and greatest farmers' coalition the Corn Belt has ever known" was going to accomplish, which experience was to prove were premature. According to *The Missouri Farmer*, the leaders, instead of opening an office in Kansas City, as had been originally suggested, and compiling an index of every wheat grower in the wheat belt, recording the amount of wheat on hand, estimating the storage facilities that were available on the farms, determining the financial position of the farmers, and leasing all the available storage space in Kansas City and St. Joseph, chose instead to content themselves with making "a few broadsides in the public press" and then turning "the wagon loose down hill." Hirth naively attributed the failure to do all these things to the unwillingness of the leaders to become involved with all the cumbersome details that such a procedure would have entailed, forgetting in the

³⁹Interview with one of Hirth's contemporaries and associates.

⁴⁰*The Missouri Farmer*, X, (March 1, 1918), p.8.

meantime that their bargaining position was becoming progressively worse.⁴¹

Early in 1923 it was announced that the Missouri Farmers' Association, the remnants of the Equity, the Farmers' Union of Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, South Dakota, Iowa, and Illinois had agreed to create a central buying agency to enter into contracts for flour, salt, tankage, coal, commercial fertilizers, binder twine, woven wire, and other supplies for some 3000 farmer-owned grain elevators. Besides this, there was created the Corn Belt Committee, comprised of five dirt farmers from each of the represented states, to represent them on legislative matters in Washington.⁴²

At the Kansas City meeting of January 8 and 9, 1923, John Tromble, the president of the Kansas Farmers' Union, was made chairman, and Howard A. Cowden, of the Missouri Farmers' Association, was made secretary. Resolutions passed asked Congress to appoint a commission that would work to equalize the prices the farmers received with what they paid out in taxes, freight rates, wages, and other items that entered into their cost of production. Also, protection was asked for American farm products as well as the establishment of governmental machinery that would remove surpluses from the market at world prices and thus help to preserve the home market for the American farmer.

. . . Under existing conditions the farmer is forced, on the one hand, to sell his wheat, corn, hogs and cattle in competition with the peasant and peon farmers of the whole World, while on the other hand, he is compelled to buy in a market where both industry and labor have placed their own value upon their wares and service. American Industry refuses to face foreign competition except from behind the frowning battlements of the highest protective tariff ever enacted in the history of the Nation, and so Labor likewise insists upon rigid exclusion laws against foreign immigration—and yet demanding this extraordinary protection for themselves, these forces apparently expect the farmers to meet World competition while absorbing the unbearable production costs which they have created and which he cannot escape . . .

⁴¹*Ibid.*, XII, (September 15, 1920), pp.8, 12, and 20; XIII, (November 15, 1921), p.9.

⁴²*Ibid.*, XV (February 1, 1923), p.9.

In short, either Organized Industry and Labor will have to take the farmer in on the deal, or Agriculture is headed for disaster. Either they will have to come downstairs or agree that the farmer shall be permitted to come upstairs.⁴⁸

Such talk gained greater currency during the height of the McNary-Haugen campaign of the Coolidge era, yet available evidence tends to bear out the fact that the columns of *The Missouri Farmer* spoke out at an earlier date of the need for building a more equitable exchange mechanism for the farmers. In 1921 the periodical said that the biggest problem facing agriculture was that of "compelling the payment of the same kind of a dollar for the products of the farmer that the farmer is compelled to pay for merchandise, freight, interest, taxes, etc. . . .," because, otherwise, agriculture could not continue to exist under conditions in which industry and labor, "through the power of organized might," compelled fixed prices and wages, while the farmer, on the other hand, "is not only abandoned to a worldwide law of supply and demand at home and abroad but is also the victim of conscienceless manipulation in the domestic markets. Or, to put it in another way, the farmer cannot continue to accept 25 cents per hour for his labor and then pay from 50 cents to \$1.00 per hour for the labor of those who expect him to invest hundreds of millions of dollars annually in merchandise, etc., and this without taking into account his investments in land and equipment."

At the annual convention of 1921 the Missouri Farmers' Association expressed approval of a "generous wage scale" for labor and "generous margins" of profit for manufacturers and merchants, especially if the wages and profits were "equitably related to the selling price of farm products." "It is when it requires four hours of the farmer's labor to match one hour of the other fellow's labor that we protest against an inequity which menaces the very existence of Agriculture."

Another bone of contention, in line with the equality for agriculture argument, was that "the dumping of money into tax free securities" was alarming. In fact the time had arrived "when government, state and municipal bonds and other similar

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, XV (February 1, 1923), p.9.

securities must become subject to taxation if other investments are to have a fair field and if the operation of the income tax laws of the Nation are not to be largely defeated." These tax exempt securities were blamed by the farmers with contributing to the high interest rates which had to be paid by the farmers at the time when their earning power was at low ebb.⁴⁴

About the same time that the equity of exchange principle was gaining some adherents, Hirth launched his "Producer's Contract" program. This sought to bind the majority of the farmers to a contract for the marketing of their crops. This was started at Union, Franklin County, as early as November 11, 1923, and was thrown into high gear in 1924.⁴⁵

Back in 1920 Hirth was very critical of Aaron Sapiro, attorney for the raisin growers of California, who had advised the wheat producers, among others, that relief from low prices was possible for them if they signed up fifty-one per cent of the crop for a five year period and then fixed the price per bushel on the basis of cost of production plus a reasonable profit. Hirth rightfully charged Sapiro with ignoring the application of the tariff in price control, with failure to distinguish between the experiences of some thousands of raisin and prune producers confined to one state (California) and several million wheat growers scattered over the United States, with underestimating the work performed by the cooperative grain elevators, with failure to take into consideration the world wheat surplus, and with attaching too little significance to the strength and opposition of the millers. Hirth then counseled that "Instead of merely contenting ourselves with the organization of a Five Year Wheat Pool why should not the producer acquire the flour mills and thus remove for all time from his path the big bull dog who now guards the gate between him and the distributor?"⁴⁶

By late 1923 and early 1924, however, Hirth had not only changed his mind, but even threatened to out-Sapiro Sapiro.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, XIII (September 15, 1921), pp. 8-9.

⁴⁵Missouri State Board of Agriculture, *The Missouri Year Book of Agriculture, Fifty-Sixth Annual Report*, 1924, p.420.

⁴⁶*The Missouri Farmer*, XII (September 1, 1920), p.3. Aaron Sapiro was actively engaged in organizing the farmers of the country in commodity pools to enable them to have organizations capable of exerting some influence over the prices that they received.

While Sapiro sought a separate contract for each commodity, Hirth wanted to lump grain, cotton, livestock, poultry, and dairy products into one, because he believed that asking farmers to sign separate contracts would confuse matters.⁴⁷

There were several things that this Producers' Contract sought to do. First, to so "bind at least 75% of the farmers in each community together in buying and selling that these vital fundamentals of cooperation will no longer be left to mere whim and chance"; second, to provide "such an increased volume of business for our different local agencies [elevators and exchanges] that their overhead costs of operation may be reduced to a minimum in both buying and selling"; third, to so "dominate the marketing of grain, livestock, poultry and dairy products that local buying competition will sooner or later be forced out of the field"; and fourth, to control "the marketing of these commodities at the points of origin, to be able to control their sale in the central markets." This latter goal, the control of sales in the central markets, had to be realized if the farmer was going to gain "Production cost, together with a reasonable profit . . .".⁴⁸

From the locality Hirth would extend the contract device onto the national scene and implement it with an effective tariff on farm commodities. He was of the belief that "we cannot hope to control the price of wheat, beef, pork or other surplus farm products until these commodities are subjected to the Contract in a Nationwide sense and that then through the tariff we raise the price within the United States sufficiently high so that the dollar the farmer receives shall be as big as the dollar he is forced to pay for merchandise, freight rates, taxes, interest, etc. . . .".⁴⁹

Hirth sought to make acceptance of the Producers' Contract mandatory to membership in the Missouri Farmers' Association. Those who joined the association before the contract was advocated but now refused to accept this would be dropped from the rolls. In other words, Hirth hoped to adopt the same procedure that had been used by the orange growers of California,

⁴⁷*Ibid.* XVI (February 1, 1924), p.3.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, XV (November 1, 1923), p.11.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, XVI (February 1, 1924), p.3.

the Burley tobacco producers, the Dairymen's League of New York, and other commodity groups. *The Missouri Farmer* put it bluntly: "a farmer cannot be both fish and fowl—he must take his place beside those who believe the hope of Agriculture lies in the control of the great central market agencies, or remaining outside the fold and continuing to proceed upon the theory of, 'Everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost.'"⁵⁹

Thousands of farmers signed the contract but not to the degree that Hirth had hoped. Late in 1923 it was reported that about 20,000 farmers in twenty counties had signed it.⁶⁰ Late in 1925 the number signing it was put at 40,000.⁶¹ In 1929 Hirth said that 50,000 farmers had signed contracts.⁶²

The contract program ran into trouble from the start. Hirth had inferred that the influential farmers failed to respond to it at first very enthusiastically.⁶³ One source very close to him said that a hard time was had in defining a producer. This was finally settled by defining a producer as one who paid taxes on livestock. The trouble with this definition was that it took in a lot of townspeople who had a cow to milk, which meant that getting the needed seventy-five per cent of the farmers to sign the contract involved taking in a lot of people who were not interested in farming. Efforts made to force farmers to sign ended in failure. The contract was modified and then dropped; really, it never went into effect.⁶⁴

Even though his Producers' Contract proposal was a failure, the same can hardly be said of the hundreds of business agencies the association sponsored. What limited information is available tends to bear out that they made auspicious starts. In June, 1920, Hirth claimed that the Missouri Farmers' Association controlled about seventy-five grain elevators, some 125 produce exchanges, and about 100 livestock shipping associations. The hope was that by fall fifty more grain elevators would be

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, XVI (May 15, 1924), p.9.

⁶⁰Missouri State Board of Agriculture, *The Missouri Year Book of Agriculture, Fifty-sixth Annual Report*, p.420.

⁶¹*The Missouri Farmer*, XVII (December 15, 1925), p.14.

⁶²Hirth to W. E. Haynes, October 11, 1929, in William Hirth Papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri.

⁶³*The Missouri Farmer*, XVII (December 15, 1925), p.14.

⁶⁴Interview with an MFA official.

financed to give the association "sufficient financial strength to compel the Merchants Exchange in St. Louis to let [them acquire] a seat . . . " to sell and purchase grain and thus place them in position to save some of the commission charges by "at least 50 per cent." The savings realized on commission charges were hoped to be enough to pay the salaries of the elevator managers.³⁰

By 1924 the array of business agencies appeared even more formidable, and this despite the fact that the farmers were undergoing hard times. There was the Farmers' Livestock Commission Company at the National Stockyards in East St. Louis, organized in 1921, which received thousands of cars of livestock annually from the 300 or 400 local shipping associations and from the private shippers as well, scattered throughout the state. During 1923 the company handled 13,104 carloads of livestock, with the sales from these totaling \$16,674,153 and the patronage refunds paid out amounting to \$152,323.

Another firm, the Farmers' Union Livestock Commission at Kansas City and Chicago, was operated jointly by the Farmers' Union and the Missouri Farmers' Association, while still another, the Farmers Union Livestock Commission at St. Joseph, was operated by the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, and the Missouri Farmers' Association. These three firms along with the Farmers' Livestock Commission Company at East St. Louis handled a total of 46,655 carloads of livestock in 1923. The savings from their business operations totaled \$386,896.75 which were paid back to the producers.

Early in 1924 the Missouri Farmers' Association established its own terminal egg marketing sales agency in Chicago and another was in the process of being launched on the New York market. It was estimated that about 1200 carloads of eggs would be marketed by the end of 1924. These eggs were shipped from the ten cold storage plants of the association which, in turn, were supplied by the produce exchanges scattered throughout the state. The report was that this phase of business activities had succeeded beyond all expectations because of the high quality products put on the market.

³⁰Hirth, "Special Farm Club Bulletin," June 3, 1920 (Columbia), a leaflet, p.1.

Another recent development was the establishment of the Producers' Grain Commission Company on the St. Louis market to market the grain of the various local associations. Plans also were devised to establish creameries and butter sales agencies to market the millions of gallons of cream that were handled annually by the produce exchanges, and which because of the want of such farmer-owned facilities had to be sold through the existing butter manufacturing agencies.

Besides these millions of dollars worth of eggs, livestock, grain, and cream sold annually, there were "more than five hundred carloads of live poultry, more than a million pounds of wool, seeds and other miscellaneous products of the farm" sold every year. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were also saved for members through "the cooperative wholesale purchase of feeds, fertilizer, salt and other merchandise."¹⁷

By 1924, ten years after the first Farm Club had been organized, the Missouri Farmers' Association had blossomed forth into one of the most successful state organizations that the nation had seen. Hirth had his faults as a personality, but as an organizer and as a worker in the interests of the farmers of Missouri, he was in the top ranks. Hirth and the Missouri Farmers' Association complemented and supplemented one another like few organizations and individuals have been able to do. Because of his organizing abilities and the close working relationship established between the business and educational ends of the association, a highly integrated body was created.

¹⁷Missouri State Board of Agriculture, *The Missouri Year Book of Agriculture, Fifty-sixth Annual Report*, pp.422-423. According to *The Missouri Farmer*, there were "approximately 400 grain elevators and produce exchanges, 380 livestock shipping Associations, ten central cold storage plants and our own livestock and grain commission firms at the terminal markets, all involving a capital investment of more than \$5,000,000 . . ." See *The Missouri Farmer*, XVI (May 15, 1924), p.9.

GOTTFRIED DUDEN VIEWS MISSOURI, 1824-1827

PART II

BY ALICE H. FINCKH*

Gottfried Duden, a man of means educated in the tradition of late eighteenth century rationalism, visited Warren County, 1824 to 1827, in order to determine its suitability as a goal for emigration from Germany. In Part I, published in the July issue of the *Review*, Duden discusses mainly the beauty of the country and the kinds of wild animals encountered. In this, the last part, he describes a variety of subjects: marriages in America, the Indians, the annoyances caused by mosquitoes and wood ticks, means of communication on the frontier, lack of governmental interference, and the beneficial economic effects of emigration on both the emigrant and the persons left behind in Europe.

LIFE IN AMERICA DESCRIBED

It seemed strange to Duden to hear that marriages in the United States, the land generally considered so materialistic, were based on love rather than on convenience, as in Europe. As for women, "In America not even the poorest farmer allows his wife or daughter to work in the fields;"¹ and no consideration of financial gain will induce a merchant to permit either wife or daughter to help in his store. Duden tells of an American cabin boy on the ship who, on his first trip to Germany, found that

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¹Gottfried Duden, *Europa und Deutschland von Nordamerika aus betrachtet, oder: Die Europäische Entwicklung im 19ten Jahrhundert in Bezug auf die Lage der Deutschen, nach einer Prüfung im innern Nordamerika*. (Bonn: E. Weber, 1833, 1835), 2 vols., I, p.312.

"nothing was so astonishing as to see white women working in the fields and carrying heavy burdens, which in North America only Negroes or mulattoes, or white men would do."¹ At meals, even in restaurants and on board ship, women are always served before men; yet they compare favorably to German women in modesty.

Duden discusses the danger of wild animals and Indians, coming to the conclusion that attacks of animals on men are very rare. "As for the Indians, that situation was quite different formerly from what it is now. The Indians are said to be too timid now to start hostilities unless provoked by Europeans. They have learned too well the power of the Republic. However, it is not advisable to go among them alone. No matter how friendly they apparently are, hating is considered a national virtue and the value of a gun might be enough to incite them to murder a man in secret. If there were a war with Spain or England, there would probably be incidents along the borders similar to those which once occurred in this region. The cruelty of a hostile Indian exceeds all imagination; although they have little perseverance in open battle, they are infinitely patient in the ways of deception. They will lie in wait for weeks in one spot in order to ambush an enemy."² Duden tells stories of the cruelty and deception of chiefs Pontiac and Tecumseh, and their followers.

"Strangely enough, the Europeans are often warned of Indian schemes by their women. It is commonly stated here that Indian women are easily seduced by Europeans. A white man who lives among the Indians for any length of time often takes an Indian girl, (a squaw) as a temporary wife, and as a precaution for his safety. The girls are almost forced upon the white men by their relatives, and they take good care of the household, becoming very loyal to their masters. Sometimes mutual love develops, but all too often this loyalty is rewarded only with ingratitude . . . Incidentally, the Indian girls are not by any means all ugly to look at."³

Duden ends this discussion by telling of an odd custom of the Chippewa Indians. When a woman is widowed she ties all

¹*Ibid.*, p.314.

²*Ibid.*, p.321.

³*Ibid.*, p.328.

her best clothing and ornaments into an oblong bundle which is then considered to be her husband. She must have this constantly with her until, after about a year, one of her husband's relatives frees her from it. Of course, she cannot remarry till then because this is her husband. The only advantage she gains is that when gifts are distributed this "husband" receives one also.

In a characteristic outburst of enthusiasm for the Missouri countryside Duden says: "One cannot imagine how delightful it is to set out from one's home in the hills and wander in the magic half-light of the river valley, a valley which would take a thousand hours to traverse. Its fascination is felt even by the animals. Horses and cows prefer this direction to any other and when they disappear for a few days we look for them in the *bottom*, as this valley is usually called. Even when the trees are leafless it is delightful there. The masses of trees do not seriously hinder the wanderer, and still one hardly feels the force of the wind even if there is a real storm; one only hears the rustling of the tops of the trees."⁶

Chestnut trees which are so plentiful east of the Mississippi are rare in Missouri and Duden advises colonists to plant them. Although there are many caterpillars they do not seem to have affected the thickness of the foliage. Duden then discusses the *second bottom*, a strip of land which is excellent for crops because of its immunity from floods and because of the natural fertility of the soil. In Europe this natural fertilizer has long since disappeared, if it ever existed. He is surprised that the simple farmers know the geological fact that the river once flowed over this land but has long since shrunk into its present bed. In Europe only a learned geologist would have been aware of this.

Duden now considers certain drawbacks to life in Missouri: "Conscientiously, I must admit that what I dislike most about this region is not the dangers mentioned above, (wild animals and Indians) but the disagreeable wood ticks (*acarus, Holzbock*). The beautiful woods are full of them up to the time of the cold nights. They are not so troublesome as the mosquitos; but after every outing one must examine himself from head

⁶*Ibid.*, p.344.

to foot and even undress himself. It is easy to imagine how European women feel about this. The best means of getting rid of the ticks is to cut out all underbrush in the woods near the house and leave only high trees. Then if one sows 'blue-grass,' (*blaue Gras*) which does well in the shade (as 'Timothy' or *Phleum pratense* is used in sunny places) the ticks will soon disappear and the farmyard will acquire pleasing surroundings. If the women desire to go out beyond this cleared space they must ride, for one is not bothered by ticks when on horseback, no matter how thickly they cling to the horse.

"After the ticks come the mosquitos, that is, our common 'Schnaken,' 'Sing-Mucken,' (*culex pipiens*); there are no other mosquitos here. Hardly anyone thinks about snakes, wolves, bears, or tigers. The mosquitos are, however, hardly any worse than they are during the warm summers in Germany. But summer is warm here every year and so people have learned to protect themselves from them. The beds are covered with gauze curtains and a person sleeps more comfortably here in a swarm of mosquitos, than in a room with only two in Germany

"Houses with thick walls are the best dwelling places everywhere. In summer they protect one from the heat and in winter from the cold. So far, in the state of Missouri, the farmers have not yet wanted to bind themselves to their farms with expensive houses, and this is very wise. In Europe people speak of the restless life of the North Americans. But they judge of conditions which they do not understand. The most conservative Europeans would be very much tempted to try living the life of Abraham in a region such as North America."

"As a matter of fact, I was about to list the unpleasant features of these regions. Actually, I do not know of anything else to add to what I have already said. None of our troubles originate with the men here, except when the Indians are stirred up. Every man has so much room that the collisions and feuds so common in Europe are unthinkable here. So long as the population can continue to spread out there will probably not be any wars among the states, and what European army would attempt to come up to Missouri? Still, let no immigrant harbor delusions of an idyllic life I constantly observe that one

cannot avoid sorrow here nor avoid a certain amount of thought in order to insure one's happiness."

"Furthermore, it is hard to explain to Europeans how we live here. If I want to visit a neighbor living two to five miles away, I use the following process. In the morning the horses are usually in the farmyard. One of them carries me to my friend. But in order to avoid further care of the horse, I take his saddle and bridle off and let him run. Soon he will have rejoined his own group. Then, when I want to go home, I take a horse which belongs to the person I have visited. I do not need to wait until one appears of its own accord. Usually the bell of the herd leader indicates where they are to be found. As soon as I am at home, I do exactly as I did with the other horse, and he runs back immediately to his own home herd. If one wants to go somewhere on foot, perhaps to hunt or for any other reason, one can always ride a horse a certain distance and then turn him loose. In this case one rides with only a blanket on the horse in order not to be troubled with the saddle afterwards."

In government lands where people often live without buying, one meets cattle wandering about and sniffing in places where people habitually go, such as brooks where the women wash clothes. When Duden needed lime he simply hired two men to go into the hills and find some. They then made a makeshift road and carried the blocks down to his cabin. "In short, I swear in all honesty that it is well worth the trouble for a European to spend some time in this region, if only to convince himself that a cultivated man can live his life entirely differently from the way he thought necessary in Europe . . ."¹⁹

"I have often heard the declaration, 'We are poor!' made by people who lacked nothing of what a German peasant would consider the height of well-being. These people came from families whose tables groaned under the weight of the most tasty dishes, who had to work only two or three hours a day in order to keep themselves supplied with such abundance, and who spent the rest of their time on mettlesome horses out hunting;

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp.379-380.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp.282-283.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p.383.

people who bowed to no one but God. In New York and Philadelphia many people complain about the increasing poverty and yet among one hundred people perhaps only one needs outside support. Here in Missouri the ratio is hardly one to a thousand and that is only because in the cities like St. Louis and St. Charles there are families which suffer under the same vices which afflict inhabitants of European cities. On the other hand, in Cologne on the Rhine, among every four people, one lives in poverty.¹¹⁰

Duden mentions the vast number of children being brought up into good and useful lives in the wilderness without the benefit of christening, a circumstance sure to create consternation in the minds of many Europeans. He explains that the scarcity of ministers and preachers makes such a condition inevitable, and sees no essential harm in it any more than in the marriage ceremonies which are performed only by civil authorities, without clergy.

Then he tells a story about a slave. "Yesterday my neighbor's Negro worked for me. It was a free day, one which the slaves use to earn pocket money. He said to me: 'I have heard that you want to go back to Europe. Why? This is such beautiful country, such fertile country and such a free country!' I could hardly believe my ears to hear such praise from the mouth of a poor slave. To explain it, one may not for a moment think that it was merely a thoughtless repetition of the common paean of praise which one hears so often in this country. The Negro is considered to be a part of the family not only by his master; what is more important, he thinks of himself as one of them The slavery of the Negro is not at all as people in Germany imagine it to be when they compare it to the slavery of the Europeans who fall into the hands of the Turks A slave on the Missouri river is less dependent than the majority of the European day laborers. Of course, the day laborer is not made to work through physical punishment. But there are forces which are just as unpleasant for him as the pain of beatings: hunger, cold and certain death in misery."¹¹¹

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp.403-404.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, pp.439-440.

After remaining in Missouri for two and a half years Duden somewhat reluctantly returned home in order to complete his self-imposed mission of informing Europe about the advantages of emigration.

"For the last few weeks I have been on the Atlantic coast. Soon I shall leave America in order to return to my home. Naturally my present period of leisure is taken up with a recapitulation of the results of my journey. I am studying the country and the people in order to make certain that my judgment is sure and correct, especially in connection with my comparison with Europe."¹²

Duden repeats in substance what he has previously said about public affairs in America. He has found that government is essentially regulated by the family unit instead of the reverse relationship as in Europe. Indeed, he attributes the desirability of life in Missouri to the twin blessings of fertile soil and lack of governmental interference. He reiterates the advantages to the middle class derived from the absence of the rabble and its pernicious influence on politics.

Aware that there is strong opposition to emigration among public officials in Germany, Duden devotes considerable space to the economic effects of emigration. "Not far from my plantation on the Missouri (if one can call my two hundred acres of forest with a four-acre field, a plantation) lives an American who is a skilled iron-worker as well as a farmer. Every year this farmer lets his neighbors know when and for how long they can count on his services in the smithy, for after this time he will not touch a hammer. He knows how to make rifles, shot-guns, plows, axes and other things; and still he is willing to pay two or three dollars for a good axe. This is the kind of thing I like to tell those people who fear the effect on European industry of the emigration of European artists and craftsmen.

"In German councils and cabinets people are beginning to realize that Europe has too large a population, and emigration is not being condemned anymore, except by a few die-hards who still hope that through political, religious and moral experiments they can adjust human trends and urges to the external situa-

¹²*Ibid.*, p.440.

tion Apparently it is too much to ask that the great majority of people understand this mistake. In their daily activity they notice only immediate advantages and disadvantages to themselves, and they judge the matter of emigration in the same way. It is obvious to anyone that the departure of citizens possessed of some wealth effects an immediate decrease in the total wealth of the home land. But it is not for everyone to decide whether the decrease is as large as it appears and whether it is not equalized by the very departure of the persons."¹² The question resolves itself into the problem of what is wealth? And in this connection there are many false theories.

"As for the apprehension caused by the emigration of artists, craftsmen and manufacturers, I will remind the reader of the American smith whom I mentioned. Why does he not make new axes himself? Answer: Only because he can earn the two or three dollars more easily out of his own fertile farm-land. But it would be very wrong to assume from this that there is not much money to be made in Missouri in a smithy. Although the local blacksmiths have to prepare their coals themselves (out of wood) because the rich coal deposits are not being mined, their trade is still very profitable. However, an even more profitable one is farming. If one could only convince the Europeans what sort of land awaits colonization in the interior of America, one could also make them understand the fact that almost all immigrant craftsmen and manufacturers change to farming. Of course, there are factories on the Ohio and even on the Mississippi, but not nearly enough of them to supply the demands of the interior; and the reason for this is the high yield which the soil provides for man's work. Anything which can be made by machines without the use of much labor can be made in North America with the same or even larger profit than in Europe; and it depends mostly upon whether the immigrants find a good location for the procurement of raw materials as to whether they remain in their old trades or change to agriculture. Therefore it is not surprising that there are many iron factories in Pittsburgh, which lies on the best waterways and has an unlimited supply of coal close to the surface. But one need not think that without such conditions the

¹²*Ibid.*, II, 173-174.

natural advantages of farming would remain ineffectual; and who knows what would have happened to the factories even in Pittsburgh if the high taxes on foreign goods had not helped them

"The blacksmiths of western America confine themselves almost entirely to the repair of implements. The implements themselves come either from Europe or from the eastern states, where the soil is less fertile. And in the same manner, many saddlers gradually stop making new goods and do only local repairing, preferring to sell leather goods made in the East; clock makers do the same. It is said that even in the eastern states the factories are not increasing so much as formerly, since the opening of the West; instead of sinking, the tariff wall would necessarily have to rise higher. While in Europe over-population threatens to erase entirely the value of human labor, the advantages of the soil uphold it in North America.

"From this we see, then, that the emigration from Europe cannot greatly increase the number of factory workers and factory owners in America, and this in turn proves that European industry instead of losing ground must, on the contrary, gain almost automatically."¹⁴ Duden illustrates his point by showing that if two blacksmiths are rivals in Germany and one goes to America, the remaining one will not only benefit by the lack of competition, but the market for finished goods will automatically be increased in America; the settlers in North America would rather buy from their own former countrymen than from others.

In his conclusion Duden cites a number of publications which corroborate his findings on Missouri. "Shortly before publication of this volume I received a copy of the description of the first North American journey of Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wurttemberg the in years 1822 to 1824 (Cotta Publishers, 1835) I am pleased to find corroborated what I said about the western states and especially about the region along the lower Missouri in connection with its advantages for settlers Since up to the present European travellers have seldom mentioned the regions along the lower Missouri, the testimony of the Prince of Wurttemberg is especially well suited to put

¹⁴*Ibid.*, II, 175-177.

an end to the slander about my report. On page 200 the prince says: 'The first view of the Missouri (at St. Charles) produced for me a magnificent and unforgettable drama, heightened by the fact that I had the opportunity to see it when the water was very high and the weather tumultuous, all of which made this wild region even more impressive.' Then he says (of the shores between St. Charles and mouth of the Gasconade) page 202: 'The right shore opposite this island (above the mouth of the small Femme Osage river) rises in a series of forest-covered rocks whose peaks tower up in the most varied forms and scenes.'¹⁵

Duden continues with quotation after quotation from this report in order to show that he has not overestimated the beauty of the country. He also cites several other writers whose observations bear out his own, and defends himself against the attacks of hostile critics and disillusioned settlers who were already beginning to plague him after having read the first volume. *Europa und Deutschland* ends rather abruptly in this vein.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, II, 458-459.

(THE END)

THE PIONEER PHYSICIAN IN MISSOURI

1820-1850

BY ROLAND LANSER*

I own that Calomel practice is both cheap and easy to the physician, for the whole extent of both theory and practice is, give Calomel, if that will not help, double and treble the dose of Calomel. If the patient recovers, Calomel cured him; if he dies, nothing in the world would have saved him.¹

Although there was some advancement in the science of medicine during the period 1820-1850, the physician in Missouri still relied mainly upon the practices which he had inherited from the past. The standard treatment of bleeding and large doses of calomel, the system advocated by Benjamin Rush late in the 18th century,² were part of the cure of practically every disease in Missouri at this period.

CONDITIONS IN MISSOURI 1820-1850

The population in Missouri increased from 66,586 in 1820 to 682,044 in 1850.³ The number of doctors increased accordingly until by 1850 there were 1,351⁴ practicing in Missouri. Whereas in 1850 the ratio of physicians to population was approximately one per 460⁵ in the state as a whole, the ratio in the towns other than St. Louis was approximately one physician

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¹Daniel Johnson, in the *Palmyra Missouri Whig and General Advertiser*, February 29, 1840.

²James Thomas Flexner, *Doctor on Horseback; Pioneer of American Medicine* (New York, Viking, 1937), p.57.

³U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourth Census of the United States 1820*, p.40; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, p. 655.

⁴U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census, 1850*, p.674.

⁵According to the American Medical Association there is today, in the country at large, one physician for every 800 people. The *Kansas City Star*, May 4, 1947.

per 200 inhabitants. From these figures it can be concluded that because of their accessibility and the concentration of population, doctors naturally tended to locate in towns, villages, and cities. It is interesting to note that native sons of twenty-eight of the thirty-six states and territories of the United States were listed as physicians in the Missouri census of 1850.⁶ Of these, approximately seventy per cent originally claimed the South as their birthplace. In addition, Missouri could list physicians native to eleven foreign countries.

From contemporary reports we can visualize how the Missourians lived, their diet, and some of the reasons for the many illnesses in Missouri during this period. Gottfried Duden, a young German physician who lived in Missouri several years, wrote of the general conditions of health in 1826:

A mode of living, such as is usual here in America, would very soon destroy half of the population of Germany. Children and grownups eat and drink, in summer and winter, what they like, whether they be sick or well. To fast during an illness is regarded a great folly. No one thinks of taking precautions against catching cold. In any season the children run, half naked, from their bed or from the blazing fireplace into the open. Some of the dwellings admit the wind from all sides, and yet no effort is made to keep out the cold northwest wind, a thing that could be so easily done with a little clay. They would rather drag a cart load of wood to the hearth daily.⁷

The early settlers usually lived in the first and second tiers of counties along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. These settlements and those along the streams were subjected to not only their own local maladies, but diseases from the outside as well. Missouri soon acquired a reputation for unhealthiness. William Faux, an English traveler, wrote from Indiana in 1819:

... I am sleeping with a sick traveler from St. Louis, who states that many die daily, and his doctor there had 150 patients to visit every day, or oftener. So much for the healthiness of the ever-tempting Missouri.⁸

⁶Determined from *Seventh Census, 1850*, and *Seventh Census, 1850*, Population Schedules.

⁷William G. Bek, (Translator) "Gottfried Duden's 'Report' 1824-1827," *Missouri Historical Review*, XIII, (January, 1919), 163-164.

⁸William Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, (London, Printed for W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1823), p.213.

Of the many diseases that appeared in Missouri at this time, malaria and cholera were the two most destructive. Malaria was so widespread that it affected nearly every section of the state and was an important factor in shaping the everyday life of the settlers. Locally it was often called the "shakes" or "Missouri chills." Although the proper treatment of malaria was known by some during this period, its cause was not.⁹ Dr. John Sappington, of Saline County, made an extensive study of this disease and theorized that low, marshy lands and stagnant water were causes of it.¹⁰ In both 1832 and 1849 Missouri was subjected to a strange invader from Europe, Asiatic cholera. Although this disease remained in Missouri only a few years, it took many lives. The August 10, 1832, *Missouri Intelligencer* printed a description of conditions after cholera appeared in St. Louis.

.... It is an ordinary occurrence, to see every member of the family stretched upon the floor in one room sick. A number have died for want of medical aid. The number of deaths within four weeks has been upwards of 60.

In the epidemic of 1849 the total number of deaths in St. Louis attributed to cholera was 4,557.¹¹

The settlers were plagued by many other diseases which often took the form of epidemics. Scarlet fever, measles, mumps, smallpox, and whooping cough were quite common. Dysentery, or flux as it was commonly called, sometimes became so prevalent that whole communities were stricken. Whatever the ailment, the physicians of this period never lacked patients to attend. Nor was the matter of health ever absent from the minds of the people. The subject of "persons ailing" would invariably become the topic of conversation with neighbors. Sickness in the area was often the first thing discussed by a stranger upon entering a new section of Missouri. Seldom was the sub-

⁹The cause of malaria was discovered in 1898. See Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938), p.278.

¹⁰John Sappington, *The Theory and Treatment of Fevers* revised and corrected by Ferdinando Stith (Arrow Rock [Mo.], Published by the Author, 1844), p.92.

¹¹Max A. Goldstein, editor, *One Hundred Years of Medicine* ([St. Louis], St. Louis Star, 1900), p.68.

ject of health or notification of illness not included in the correspondence of that period.

EARLY MEDICAL EDUCATION IN MISSOURI

Like many other elements of a frontier society, the medical profession in Missouri was allowed to develop without any system. Any pioneer, whether shopkeeper or farmer, young or old, who felt a desire to practice medicine could assume the title of "Doctor" and wait for his patients to arrive. Many people of the period could discern little difference in the practice of a graduate of a medical school who could give claim to an M. D., and a person who was familiar with a few simple remedies and called himself doctor. Dr. Daniel Johnson, a Palmyra physician, claimed that the physician was governed entirely by guessing, and he who had the most luck at guessing was the best doctor.¹³

Although Missouri did not establish a medical college until the 1840's, education, in the form of apprenticeship, was available for some at an earlier date. As early as 1821, Dr. Wheeler and Dr. Stoddard, partners in St. Charles, placed the following notice in the *St. Charles Missourian*: "One or two young men of good preparatory education, sustaining good moral character, will be received as students—none need apply without satisfactory recommendations."¹⁴ Paxton's *Directory of St. Louis* in 1821 listed Joseph Pendleton as a student of medicine.¹⁵ This is probably the earliest record of a student receiving medical training in Missouri.

Under the apprentice system, any young man meeting the qualifications desired by his employer apprenticed himself for a period of time, usually three years. The established physician who trained him was thereafter called a preceptor. At the beginning of the apprentice's training, his tasks were often of the menial type: taking care of the office and stable, running errands, and washing medicine bottles. Later he was placed in

¹³*Palmyra Missouri Whig*, February 29, 1840.

¹⁴January 13, 1821.

¹⁵E. J. Goodwin, *A History of Medicine in Missouri* ([St. Louis], Smith, 1905), p.37 stated that Dr. Meredith Martin, who began his studies under Dr. B. Farrar in 1828 was the first to commence his medical studies in Missouri.

charge of the drug supplies, learning how to make pills and mix medicine. Finally, he assisted in the daily practice of his preceptor. Apparently there were regular charges for this apprenticeship. One hundred dollars a year was the usual fee charged in the eastern part of the United States,¹¹ but no records are available for Missouri. At the end of the apprenticeship, the student was usually issued a certificate of proficiency. With or without this certificate the former student could begin his practice. There were no laws in Missouri providing for the licensing of physicians during the period 1820-1850. The advantage of the preceptor system was that students so trained acquired a practical medical education. One disadvantage of the system was the wide variation in the preceptor's knowledge of medicine and ability to teach. Vices as well as virtues of the teacher were acquired. As the student in turn became a preceptor this led to the perpetuation of certain errors in medical practice.

The completion of an apprenticeship became a requirement for a medical degree and the preceptorial system was incorporated into the medical educational system. Some of the physicians practicing in Missouri between 1820 and 1850 had received their formal medical education at the University of Pennsylvania, the oldest medical school in the United States, established in 1765. The Medical Department of Transylvania University, located in Lexington, Kentucky, was the first medical college to be established in the West. The demands for physicians soon gave rise to other medical institutions in the Mississippi Valley.

In Missouri the groundwork was first laid for a medical school in St. Louis. Because of its size and economic development, the chances of success were greatest there. St. Louis University was incorporated by the legislature in 1832. The *St. Louis Missouri Argus* of October 7, 1836, announced the organ-

¹¹Henry Burnell Shafer, *The American Medical Profession, 1783 to 1850* No. 417 of the *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University (New York, Columbia University, 1936), p.33 lists the following fee rates given in A. L. Pierson, Letter Book (Ms. in Boston Medical Library). These rates were established by Essex South District of Massachusetts Medical Society: for three years advance payment was \$150 or at the end of the term \$200; for two years advance payment was \$120 or at the end of the term \$133; for one year advance payment was \$65 or at the end of the term \$75.

ization of a medical department at St. Louis University,¹⁴ but the department was not actually established until 1841 and the first lectures were not given until 1842.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the Medical Department of Kemper College was organized in St. Louis by Dr. Joseph Nash McDowell. During the winter of 1840 this school presented the first course of medical lectures west of the Mississippi River.¹⁶ In 1845 Kemper College failed and the medical department was taken over as the "Medical Department of the University of the State of Missouri," in February, 1846.¹⁷ The connection between the two schools was hardly more than nominal, however, and in 1857 they severed connections and the medical school secured a separate charter. It was then called the "Medical Department of the Missouri Institute of Science" but was more commonly known as the "Missouri Medical College." The *Annual Catalogue* of the University of Missouri for 1846 listed the following requirements for graduation :

... candidate shall not be less than twenty-one years of age, and of good moral character; shall have enjoyed the advantages of two years private pupilage, and have attended two courses of lectures, the last of which must have been attended in this school; write and defend a thesis on some Medical subject, and stand a satisfactory examination before the Faculty; or shall have attended three successive courses of lectures without previous private pupilage, or shall have been engaged in a reputable practice for three years, and have attended one course of lectures in this school.

The *Annual Catalogue* of 1849 listed a faculty of eight professors and 154 students from ten states. Graduation requirements in the Medical Department of St. Louis University were similar to those of the University of Missouri. The *Catalogue* for 1848 for St. Louis University announced that eighty *

¹⁴The following prominent St. Louis residents were listed as trustees: Dr. B. G. Farrar, Dr. H. L. Hoffman, Col. J. O'Fallon, Col. J. W. Johnson, Rev. W. G. Elliot, Rev. T. P. Green, Gen. W. H. Ashley, M. P. LeDuc, Esq., and Mr. Wm. Renshaw.

¹⁵*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of St. Louis University, August 1842*, p.3; *History of the St. Louis Medical College* (St. Louis, Waterman, 1898), p.8.

¹⁶Goldstein, *One Hundred Years*, p.176.

¹⁷*Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of the State of Missouri for the Year Ending July 30, 1846*.

students, twenty of whom graduated, had attended lectures the preceding year.

Both colleges offered anatomy, physiology, and chemistry as basic pre-clinical subjects. The principal clinical subjects were surgery, *materia medica*, obstetrics, and diseases of women and children. In addition the medical department of St. Louis University offered a course in medical jurisprudence. There was one medical educational practice the St. Louis colleges had adopted that was equal to that offered by the best medical colleges in the country. This was the utilization of hospitals for clinical instruction.¹⁹

In addition to the preceptor-trained doctor and the physician with a medical degree, there was a large number of practicing physicians who had attended only one session of lectures and had not obtained a degree from a medical college. In both the St. Louis medical schools, the number who graduated was less than those who attended without graduating. During 1845, fifty-three students attended the medical department of St. Louis University while only eleven graduated.²⁰ The number who were educated solely under the preceptorial system was decidedly more than the other two groups, while those who had attended one session of lectures exceeded those who obtained a degree. While the number of doctors with degrees had gradually increased, by 1850 they were probably still exceeded by those who were practicing without a medical degree.

THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE 1820-1850

When the doctor set up his practice, the shingle was an indispensable item of his equipment and was immediately placed in a prominent position outside of his quarters. Another means of notification was the custom of placing a notice in the town newspaper. This type of advertisement had the advantage of quickly reaching a large number of people. The most common type found in the newspapers of the period 1820-1850 is illustrated by the following notice:

¹⁹St. Louis Hospital was founded originally by the Sisters of Charity in 1828. The City Hospital was founded in 1845. Goodwin, *History of Medicine*, pp.153, 158.

²⁰Catalogue of St. Louis University, 1845-46.

DR. J. HUBBARD

Has permanently settled himself in Franklin, where he will practice PHYSICS, SURGERY, & MIDWIFERY. He has received a fresh supply of MEDICINE. His shop is kept in the house formerly occupied by A. Storrs, as a Post Office.²¹

From a general statement found in most of the notices, the doctors practiced medicine, surgery, and mid-wifery. Little medical specialization was possible.

The type and supply of drugs used by the doctor in Missouri during this period depended largely on the doctor and his training, ability, financial means, and educational stimulation. In Missouri in 1820, the doctor's supply of drugs could be obtained from a limited number of drug stores, general merchants in smaller towns, or the large retail and wholesale stores in St. Louis and eastern cities.²² Not only did the physician prescribe and administer medicines, but in many cases he had to process them. The pestle and mortar, balances, and spatula used to prepare and mix medicines were often a part of his equipment.

The supply of drugs and medicines maintained by two Columbia doctors, Daniel P. Wilcox and Alexander M. Robinson, as co-partners is probably representative of supplies stocked by the more successful physicians. On the death of Dr. Wilcox in 1831, an inventory of his estate revealed a total of forty-four different medicines and drugs valued at \$40.29½.²³

The majority of the doctors made use of both metallic and botanic medicines in the treatment of their patients. The metallic drugs such as mercury, which was used most extensively, antimony, sodium, and potassium in some form or another were widely used. Classified along with other *materia medica*, according to their action upon the body, were the many roots, plants, and barks either indigenous to the United States or imported from foreign lands. By 1820 some Missouri doctors stocked a supply of cowpox vaccine for purposes of innoculating against smallpox.²⁴

²¹*Franklin Missouri Intelligencer*, July 29, 1820.

²²The first drug store in St. Louis was opened about 1810 by Dr. R. Simpson and Dr. Quarles. Goodwin, *History of Medicine*, p.35.

²³Inventory and appraisal of the estate of David P. Wilcox, September 17, 1831, Probate file 111, Boone County Probate Court.

²⁴*Franklin Missouri Intelligencer*, November 5, 1819, May 29, 1824.

Instruments were few and crude in construction during this period. Blood-letting from the veins or arteries was accomplished by the use of lancet, leeches, or lancet cups. Obstetrical instruments were few and simple. The most widely used, and sometimes the only one, was the forceps. Many doctors practiced dentistry in conjunction with medicine. Treatment of dental trouble usually consisted solely in tooth extraction and the instrument used for pulling teeth was called a "pulliken" or "tooth drawer."

An inventory of the estate in 1831, of Dr. Wilcox, a successful doctor, reveals the small amount of equipment needed at that time. Instruments listed were: one case of dissecting instruments, one case of pocket instruments (incomplete), one pair of pullikens, one pair of forceps, one tourniquet, and one trocar.²⁴ Office equipment included: two scales with weights, one iron mortar and pestle, one wedgewood mortar, one spatula, one pint syringe, one and one-fourth pint syringe, dressing table, eleven quart tincture bottles, eleven glass quart jars, two glass gallon jars, and thirteen imported white jars.²⁵

Many doctors first became familiar with medical publications as a student in a medical college or as an apprentice under some preceptor. Some of these doctors purchased medical books and included them as part of their equipment. An examination of the estates of doctors who died during this period, on file at the Probate Court of Boone County, revealed that some doctors had no books listed in the inventories; while others had as many as seventy-two volumes, including primarily medical books and periodicals.

Of the twenty-six medical journals published in the United States in 1847, two were Missouri journals published in St. Louis.²⁶ The *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*, a bi-monthly first published in April, 1843, was the first Missouri medical journal to appear west of the Mississippi. The *Missouri Medical and Surgical Journal*, first published in May, 1845,

²⁴A stylet to explore tissues or to insert drainage tubes.

²⁵Inventory and appraisal of the estate of David P. Wilcox, September 17, 1831, Probate file 111, Boone County Probate Court.

²⁶"Report of the Committee on Medical Literature," *Transactions, of the American Medical Association*, (Philadelphia, Collins, 1848), I, 255.

merged with the *St. Louis Journal* in September, 1848.²⁷ Although these two journals started later than many eastern journals, their publication does point to the fact that Missouri's physicians were aware of a need for a journal which concerned itself with regional medical problems.

At least two Missouri physicians were authors of medical books during the period 1820-1850. Dr. William Beaumont had his book, *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion*, published in 1833, the year before he came to St. Louis to live. Dr. Beaumont attended a French Canadian trapper who developed an open fistula in his stomach from a shotgun blast. This "window" was the means by which Dr. Beaumont conducted a series of classic experiments over a period of ten years. His experiments exerted an influence on the clinical pathology and therapy of the stomach and became the departure for modern gastric research. Dr. John Sappington had a book, *The Theory and Treatment of Fevers* published in 1844. The major emphasis was on fevers and the use of quinine in their treatment. Of primary importance was the fact that he had found a treatment for malaria. His use of quinine differed little from that of today.²⁸

The practice of medicine in Missouri during the period 1820-1850 was a transition from the old systems in vogue in the eighteenth century and earlier to one which was concerned primarily with cures rather than theories. From the point of view of science it represented a rejection of old concepts and a search for new and more reliable standards of practice. The most popular explanation of diseases was still the "fever" theory. According to this theory, diseases were the results of irritation or excitement.²⁹

²⁷Goodwin, *History of Medicine*, p.146.

²⁸Eula Gladys Riley, "John Sappington, Doctor and Philanthropist," (Unpublished Master's Thesis 1942, in the library of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.) pp.40-53.

Erwin H. Ackernrech, *Malaria in the Upper Mississippi Valley 1760-1900* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1945), p.107 says Dr. Sappington was one of the many doctors in the 30's who were trying out quinine for the treatment of malaria. He manufactured some antifever pills, the active principle of which was 1 gr. of quinine, which became famous in the West. Sappington opposed large doses and prescribed only 1 gr. every two hours.

²⁹John Eberle, *A Treatise on the Practice of Medicine*, (Philadelphia, Grigg, 1830), I, 3.

The usual treatment for diseases was to first depress or calm the patient, then rehabilitate him by various drugs.²⁰ The most common method of depressing a patient was by means of bleeding. The amount of blood released depended on the disease as well as the physician treating the patient. Most textbooks of the period recommended withdrawing from ten to twelve ounces. After bleeding, the body was further evacuated of irritations by physicking, sweating, diuretics, and emetics.²¹ Another popular method of treatment was the blister. Usually a mixture of mustard was placed on the affected area. The resulting blister was pricked and the flow of water was considered helpful in removing the irritation or excitement in the system. After the patient was sufficiently depressed and the substance causing the illness was removed, the patient's body was rebuilt by tonics and stimulants. Dr. Sappington treated fevers in a more practical way. He observed the beneficial results of cinchona bark and began to administer it at any stage of the fever. He also gave quinine immediately and did not employ purges and bleeding to prepare the patient.

Surgery for amputations and abcesses was usually performed in the home of the patient. In his book Dr. Sappington tells of performing a lithotomy or cutting for stones in the bladder on a Negro girl in 1823. This may have been the first of its kind done in Missouri.²²

A few typical examples of cases that were treated by Missouri physicians of this period follow:

A Callaway County farmer, William Nash, wrote an account of a treatment prescribed by Dr. John Conger:

Jesse Nash taken sick Friday 1st Dec. 1837, Doctor Conger came to see him Monday 4th. Stayed till Thursday morning 7th returned Saturday 9th. I had given 10 grs. calomel and 25 drops lodnum (laudanum)—he directed if stupor and twitching of the Nerves cont'd. tomorrow to give 5 grs. calomel 1 of Epicack and 10 drops lodnum (laudanum) every 2 hours till (for) three times—1 tea-spoon of Nitre, once in three hours, 3 or 4 times in the day—camphor

²⁰Shafer, *Medical Profession*, p.96.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp.98-99.

²²Sappington, *Fevers*, pp.206-208.

2 grs., 2 or 3 times in the day—if no operation in the day, give Castor oil at night. If bowels sore by pressure, give 30 to 40 drops Capiva 3 or 4 times in the day . . .²²

Apparently all the medicine was of no avail because Jesse died on the 17th of December.²³

Another treatment which illustrated a usual practice was that of Judge James H. Peck of St. Louis who was suffering from failing eyesight. The cure consisted of cathartics and emetics taken on alternating mornings followed by the application of a blister on the spine. This treatment made the Judge worse. The next treatment tried was to put poultices of slippery elm with ether and laudanum on the eyes. The results stated by Peck were: ". . . a broken head from being precipitated down stairs by mistaking directions which I had not supposed would lead me into danger."²⁴

An advancement in Missouri medicine during this period was the use of ether as an anesthesia during surgical operations. Probably the first use of ether as an anesthesia, by a Missouri physician during an operation, was by Dr. Pope who removed a cancer from the lip of Dr. Howe in 1847.²⁵ Even earlier than Dr. Pope's use of ether was that of Dr. J. S. Clark, St. Louis dentist, who used it successfully for tooth extractions. Dr. Clark constructed his own evaporator for use of sulphuric ether.²⁶

In addition to the regular members of the profession there appeared the "irregulars" or followers of medical sects such as Thomsonianism, Homoeopathy, and Hydropathy. The Thomsonian treatment consisted mainly of lobelia powder and pulverized cayenne or real pepper to cleanse the stomach, warm up the patient, and increase perspiration.²⁷ Homoeopathy advocated

²²William Nash Diary and Account Book, 1821-1841, fid. 1, Western Historical Manuscript Collection. University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Judge James H. Peck, St. Louis, Mo., to Jacob Peck, New Market, Tenn., September 4, 1825, fid. 389. *Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

²⁵J. S. Clark, "Sulphuric Ether in Dental Operations," *The Missouri Medical and Surgical Journal* edited by Thomas Barbour, M.D. (St. Louis, Ustick, 1847), II, 243.

²⁶Ibid., p.242.

²⁷Shafer, *Medical Profession*, p.201.

the doctrine that a disease could be cured by medicines which caused the symptoms in a healthy person similar to those caused by the disease.²⁰ Hydropathy advocated the use of water for the treatment of diseases.²¹

Competing with the doctor's practice were the many patent medicines, sometimes even sold by the doctors themselves. Notices were published in the newspapers of the period and there was no limit to the diseases each medicine claimed it could cure. Recognizing a need for medical organization to combat the competition of the irregular doctor and patent medicines, in 1837 the physicians of St. Louis obtained a charter under the name of the Medical Society of the State of Missouri from the Missouri legislature. In 1849, the local organization held a meeting to organize a state association. The following year the Missouri State Medical Association was formed. This became the first state-wide medical organization in Missouri.²²

No uniform pattern of fees can be established as it varied with the physician as well as with the locality. Many doctors kept no books, kept them carelessly, or many of those kept were destroyed so that little evidence remains. Often the bills were sent out at the end of the year and probably represented only a general idea of the doctor's services. As most of the doctors of this period compounded drugs into medicine, the bills included a charge for medicines as well as for the doctor's services. Dr. Sappington left records that illustrate how the fee charged varied according to the circumstances. Within the same year, 1830, he charged a patient seven dollars for visiting his child and riding about twenty-five miles; the charge to another patient was nine dollars for a visit and riding sixteen miles.²³ The physicians also distinguished between charges made for a night call and those made for a day call. In 1837 the usual charge of Dr. D. Peticrew for a day visit was fifty cents while the charge for a night visit was one dollar.²⁴ Charges

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.243.

²¹Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* (Crawfordsville, Ind., Banta, 1945), p.219.

²²Goodwin, *History of Medicine*, pp.117-118.

²³*Sappington Account Book, 1830-1833*, p.1, *Sappington Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri.

²⁴Lisbon Applegate in account with Dr. Peticrew, February 11-December 18, 1837, *Lisbon Applegate Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri.

made for medicine taken from the records of Dr. Sappington are: blister plaster 50 cents, one dose of calomel 25 cents, 12 quinine pills \$1.00, and one oz. of tincture of iodine \$1.00.⁴⁴

The charge for the treatment of specific ailments was usually determined by the severity of the illness. In 1816 Dr. Millington charged \$2.75 for bleeding and dressing a blister.⁴⁵ Dr. Mattingly charged fifty cents for cupping and laudanum.⁴⁶ During the period of 1820-1850 many doctors charged a flat fee of five dollars for a normal baby delivery.⁴⁷ The charge for traveling to a patient and staying over night or longer depended on the time the doctor spent with the patient. There is some evidence that physicians made yearly family contracts for their medical services. A fee bill proposed by a group of St. Louis physicians in 1829 included charges for attending by the year.⁴⁸

During the period 1820-1850 some families could not afford to pay any medical fee. By 1850 at least one county was paying medical fees for paupers.⁴⁹ In many areas the scarcity of money led to the payment of medical fees in the form of produce rather than cash. Although the physicians were able to secure many patients, their actual monetary return did not appear profitable. The problem of trying to collect their fees was sometimes solved by notices placed in newspapers. An example is that of Dr. Alexander M. Robinson and Dr. Wm. Provines on the dissolution of their partnership in 1835. "Our friends will not be dissatisfied, we hope, when we inform them at *this* time, that we must have money."⁵⁰ In 1829 because the lack of uniformity of fees was widespread at this time, a group of St. Louis physicians agreed on fees to charge for services and published what was

⁴⁴Sappington Account Book, 1830-1833, pp.2-7, *Sappington Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri.

⁴⁵Scott in account with Dr. Millington, April 9, 1815-February 12, 1816, fd. 667, *Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri.

⁴⁶Stevenson in account with Dr. Mattingly, October 28-31, 1845, *Lisbon Applegate Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri.

⁴⁷Sappington Account Book, 1830-1833, p.6, *Sappington Manuscript Collection* and Hay account with Dr. McCoy, July 2, 1855, *McCoy Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri.

⁴⁸Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, Everts, 1883), II, 1521-22, Note 1.

⁴⁹*Liberty Tribune*, July 4, 1851.

⁵⁰*Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*, November 28, 1835.

known as a fee bill.¹¹ By 1845 a similar trend had reached the western edge of Missouri as in that year eleven St. Joseph physicians agreed on a fee bill.¹²

THE DOCTOR'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

The Missouri physician influenced the community not only through his medical care of the inhabitants, but also in the part he played in public affairs. Politics, not only local, but state and national as well, was one of the more popular activities engaged in.

Dr. William Carr Lane, a Whig, was a Missouri physician who engaged in politics during most of this period. In 1822 he was appointed quartermaster general of the militia of Missouri.¹³ In 1823 he was elected the first mayor of St. Louis.¹⁴ Dr. Lane also served in the Missouri House of Representatives in the sessions of 1826-1827, 1830-1831, and 1832-1833.¹⁵ In 1852 Lane became governor of New Mexico.¹⁶ Another physician active in politics during this period was Dr. William Jewell of Columbia. In 1826 he was elected Boone County representative to the general assembly of Missouri. In 1830 he was elected state senator from Boone County.¹⁷ Dr. Jewell was also mayor of Columbia for a number of years.

Dr. John Jefferson Lowry was still another doctor who for twenty years played a prominent role in local and state affairs. Coming to Howard County in 1819, he was at one time president of the state bank at Fayette, at another librarian and treasurer of the Franklin library, and in 1826 and 1828 he was elected to the state legislature, in addition to following his profession as a doctor.¹⁸

Physicians took sides in many of the important issues of this period. The controversial question of slavery found them

¹¹Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, II, 1521-22.

¹²Goodwin, *History of Medicine*, p.106.

¹³Franklin Missouri *Intelligencer*, June 4, 1822.

¹⁴Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, I, 654-655.

¹⁵Fayette Missouri *Intelligencer*, August 17, 1826; *House Journal of the 1st Session of the Sixth General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1830*; Columbia Missouri *Intelligencer*, November 10, 1832.

¹⁶Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, I, 655.

¹⁷Columbia Missouri *Intelligencer*, August 7, 1830.

¹⁸Charles F. Mullett, "Doctor John J. Lowry: A Frontier Physician," *Missouri Historical Review* XXXVIII (January, 1944), 127-137.

divided as thoroughly on this as on other questions.⁶⁰ Some Missouri physicians were interested in the temperance societies that were organized during the 1830's.⁶¹ Transportation and communication problems interested a few doctors. Agricultural improvements also interested them. Some doctors took part in forming vigilance committees as law enforcing agencies were not too effective in certain areas at this time.

Almost as important as his interest in politics was the physician's interest in the advancement of education. Physicians organized medical schools and contributed much to the growth of the common schools, female academies, and institutions of higher learning.⁶² Some of the more prominent physicians who became trustees and chairmen of various schools were Drs. Jewell, Provines, Bennett, Moss, and Garlicks. Dr. Jewell donated a large sum of money for the purpose of erecting a college for young men. This later became William Jewell College.⁶³ Dr. John Sappington also financially assisted education and a fund is still in existence in Saline County for this purpose.⁶⁴

The private interests of the Missouri doctor from 1820-1850 are such that only a partial evaluation can be made. Apparently his private business activities were largely devoted to supplementing his medical income. Most frequently the doctor participated in profit making ventures such as farming and stock breeding. He engaged in numerous other private businesses such as ownership of stores, mills, and newspapers.

A doctor's success was partially determined by the amount of wealth he accumulated. Those doctors who branched out into other business activities were the most successful financially. Land speculation was probably the most profitable means by which he accumulated his wealth. Although many doctors in all parts of the state were land speculators, the St. Louis doctors were the most successful. At the time of his death, Dr. William Jewell, in addition to his gift of ten thousand dollars to William

⁶⁰Goldstein, *One Hundred Years*, p.92.

⁶¹*Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*, March 24, 1832 and January 24, 1835.

⁶²*Ibid.*, August 31, 1833, May 3, 1834, and November 28, 1835.

⁶³North Todd Gentry, *Dr. William Jewell*, Address delivered in Gano Chapel of William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo., Tuesday, December 6, 1932, pp.20, 21.

⁶⁴Riley, "Sappington," pp.91-111.

Jewell College, had an estate valued in excess of thirty thousand dollars.⁴⁴ In 1853 Dr. Sappington's land holdings were valued at over fifty-five thousand dollars.⁴⁵ The largest amount listed in the census of 1850 was two hundred thousand dollars worth of real estate owned by the widow of Dr. Bernard Farrar of St. Louis.

Whatever the activities the doctor engaged in during this period 1820-1850, whether for the community or for his own personal interests, his influence was a factor that affected the political, social, and economic life of the community.

⁴⁴Inventory and appraisal of the estate of William Jewell, October 11, 1852, Probate file, 1126, Boone County Probate Court.

⁴⁵Riley, "Sappington," p.16.

THE MISSOURI READER
THE FUR TRADE
PART II.

EDITED BY ADA PARIS KLEIN¹

Ashley and His Men
Smith, Sublette, and Jackson Take Over
The Rocky Mountain Fur Company
Sublette and Company

ASHLEY AND HIS MEN

To Enterprising Young Men

The Subscriber wishes to engage ONE HUNDRED MEN, to ascend the river Missouri to its sources, there to be employed, for one, two, or three years—For particulars, enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the Lead Mines in the County of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

Missouri Republican (St. Louis)
 February 13, 1822.

Wm. H. Ashley²

Enterprise. We neglected to notice last week the departure from St. Louis of the expedition for the Missouri Mountains, under the direc-

¹ADA PARIS KLEIN, a native of Connecticut, received her B.S. degree from New Haven Teachers College and her M.A. from Columbia Teachers College, Columbia University. Mrs. Klein taught for three years in the public schools of Stamford, Connecticut. She was employed as a research associate in the State Historical Society of Missouri at the time of writing this article.

²Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1902), I, 282 says "The beginning of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company may be definitely traced to the following announcement which appeared in the *Missouri Republican*" and he quotes the above. Although the name, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, was not used until 1830, there was a continuity of men and purpose from the first expedition of Ashley until the dissolution of the company in 1834; in fact a continuity of men is evident down to the dissolution of Sublette and Company in 1842.

William Henry Ashley (1778-1838) came to Missouri from Virginia in 1802. In 1802 he was elected the first lieutenant-governor of Missouri, and from 1831-1837 he served as congressman from Missouri. *Ibid.*, pp.247-251.

Andrew Henry was born between 1773 and 1778 in Pennsylvania and died in 1832 in Missouri. In 1809 he joined with Manuel Lisa in organizing the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. *Ibid.*, pp.251-252.

Excerpts quoted throughout this article from Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade* are reproduced by permission of Mr. Lathrop C. Harper for the estate of Francis P. Harper.

tion of Gen. Ashley and Maj. Wm. Henry. The latter gentleman commands the party, in person, and is well known for his enterprising adventures in the Oregon country. The object of this company is to trap and hunt—they are completely equipped, and number about 180 persons. They will direct their course to the three forks of the Missouri, a region it is said, which contains a wealth of *Furs*, not surpassed by the mines of Peru. The party is composed entirely of young men, many of whom have relinquished the most respectable employment and circles of society, for this arduous but truly meritorious undertaking. They will be gone three years, during which time it is contemplated to visit the heads of the different rivers under the Mountains, and perhaps to go as far on the other side as the mouth of the Columbia.

St. Louis Enquirer.

April 13, 1822.

This was the beginning of operation of what later was to be called the Rocky Mountain Fur Company: a company which, in spite of financial setbacks, Indian troubles, and battles with the elements in the West, was eventually to lay the foundation of several fortunes and more important still, through its explorations, was to explore the West for the future expansion of the United States. With beaver skins selling as high as \$8.00 apiece for use in the manufacture of the fashionable high-top hats, it was not hard to recruit adventuresome young men for expeditions to the West.

Jedediah Smith a "Bible-toting" explorer from New York was one of the "enterprising young men" joining the company: "In the spring I came down to St. Louis and hearing of an expedition that was fitting out for the prosecution of the fur trade on the head of the Missouri, by Gen^l Wm. H. Ashley and Major (Andrew) Henry, I called on Gen^l Ashley to make an engagement to go with him as a hunter. I found no difficulty in making a bargain on as good terms as I had reason to expect. On the 8th of May I left St. Louis on board the *enterprise* under the direction of Daniel S. D. More. (Daniel S. D. Moore was a deputy clerk of the Circuit Court at St. Louis in 1821) But before I proceed further it may be necessary to give a brief outline of the business commenced by Gen^l Ashley and Maj. Henry

"Leaving St. Louis our boat proceeded on without any material occurrence for the first three hundred miles. The strong

current of the Missouri made the voyage slow, Laborious and dangerous. Arriving at a place within the State of Missouri and near the mouth of the Smi Eber Creek (Sniabar Creek) on a windy day and turning a point full of sawyers the boat by an unexpected turn brought the top of her Mast against a tree that hung over the water and wheeling with the side to the powerful current was swept under in a moment. The boat and its valuable cargo worth (10,000) Dollars was lost with the exception of a few articles that floated and were saved by the exertion of two or three active men.

"After the loss of the boat Mr. More immediately started for St. Louis, Leaving the party, and myself among the rest, at or near the place where it was lost. About the 4th of June Mr. More arrived in St. Louis and gave Gen^l Ashley intelligence of the loss of his boat. Not discouraged by this unfortunate occurrence, Gen^l Ashley immediately commenced fitting out another boat and in Eighteen days was prepared to Leave with another boat and cargo and 46 men. He then took charge of the Expedition himself and procided up to the place where we were encamped without any verry material occurrence.

" . . . Gen^l Ashley, contrary to the common custom of traders of this river, had laid in a plentiful supply of provision, consisting of sea Bread and Bacon, so that we were not dependant on the precarious supply derived from hunting, although at the same time that the boat was moving against the powerful current a few men who were good hunters were out on the bank hunting for such game as the country afforded, which consisted of Black Bear, Deer, Elk, Raccoon and Turkeys in abundance. And as the Country was well stocked with Bees we frequently had a plentiful supply of honey . . .

"From the Council Bluffs continuing our voyage up the river we passed the villages of the Mahaw's, Puncah's and some bands of the Sioux and arrived in the heart of the Sioux. The Indians came in to see us frequently and the Gen^l held council with them and smoked the pipe of Peace. These visits gave me frequent opportunities for observing their manners . . .

"Continuing our journey we arrived at the Arickara towns on the 8th of Sept. There are two villages situated about three hundred yards from the Missouri and on the left bank. They

are about a quarter of a mile apart and consist of about Lodges in each village

"Immediately on the arriving of the boat at the Arickaras Gen^l Ashley determined, as the season was much advanced, to purchase horses and proceed directly by land to the Mouth of the Yellow Stone whilst the boat, which would proceed more slowly, would continue on to the same place.

"The Gen^l took charge of the party that went by land himself and to this party I was attached. He moved with great care, being somewhat apprehensive of danger from the Arickara Indians

"The Party arrived at the mouth of the Yellow Stone on the 1st Day of October. Gen^l Ashley and Maj. Henry immediately commenced arrangements for business, and after furnishing the mountain parties with their supplies of goods and receiving the furs of the last hunt Gen^l Ashley started for St. Louis with a large Pirogue Packs of Beaver and Men."

In St. Louis, early in the year 1823, General Ashley recruited another large company of hunters, trappers, boatsmen, and servants. His choices were not so select as those made for the previous expedition although there were some who were very capable, among them James Clyman, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and William Sublette.

Clyman, who became the clerk of the expedition, tells in his "Narrative of 1823-1824" of seeking Ashley out to apply for a position: ". . . . I heard a report that general William H. Ashly was engaging men for a Trip to the mouth of the Yellow Stone river I made enquiry as to what was the object but found no person who seemed to possess the desired information on finding whare Ashleys dwelling was I called on him the same evening the men he wished to engage

⁴Jedediah Smith, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith*, edited by Maurice S. Sullivan (Santa Ana, Calif., The Fine Arts Press, 1934), pp. 1-2, 3, 6, 7, 8. Smith (1798-1831), a native of New York, came to St. Louis about 1816 and entered into Ashley's employ in 1822 or 1823. A devout Christian with a fair education, he spent the rest of his life in exploring the West. In 1831 he entered the Santa Fe trade and in May of the same year was killed by some Comanche Indians. *Ibid.*, and *Dictionary of American Biography* XVII, 290-291. (Reprinted by permission of the Fine Arts Press.)

ware to (be) huters trappers and traders for furs and peltrees¹⁴

General Ashley engaged Clyman and commissioned him to find additional men. He found the men "in grog Shops and other sinks of degradation."¹⁵ The expedition set out on the 10th of March, 1823.¹⁶ Clyman remarks about the crew in the following manner:

"A discription of our crew I cannt give but Fallstafs Battallion was genteel in comparison I think we had about (70) seventy all told Two Keel Boats with crews of French some St. Louis gumboes as they were called

"We proceeded slowly up the Misourie River under sail wen winds ware favourable and towline when not

" . . . at Council Bluffs . . . we leave the last appearance of civilization and [enter] fully Indian country game becomeing more plenty we furnished ourselves with meat daily.

"But I pass on to the arrickaree villages whare we met with our defeat on ariveing in sight of the villages the barr in front was lined with sqaws packing up water thinking to have to stand a siege

"For a better understanding it is necessary that I state tha(t) the Missourie furr company (under Pilcher) have established a small trading house (perhaps one of the Teton River posts) some (60) or (80) miles below the arrickree villages the winter previous to our assent and the arrickarees haveing taken some Sioux squaws prisoners previously one of these Squaws

¹⁴James Clyman, *American Frontiersman, 1792-1881*, edited by Charles L. Camp. (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1928), p. 13. For forty-one years Clyman wandered over the continent as a "mountain man" until his marriage in 1849 when he settled down to thirty years of farming in California. *Ibid.*, p. 10. (Excerpts, quoted throughout this article, from Clyman, *American Frontiersman* are quoted with the permission of the California Historical Society and Dr. Charles L. Camp.)

¹⁵Thomas Fitzpatrick, (c.1799-1854). Not much is known of his early life but he is later mentioned frequently in narratives of travel in the West. He probably knew the West as well as any man except James Bridger. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, I, 258-260.

¹⁶William Sublette (1799-1845), was one of the most distinguished and successful of the fur traders and renowned as a bold and hardy mountaineer. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-255.

¹⁷Clyman, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁸Clyman gives the 8th and Chittenden, *op. cit.*, the 10th, the *Missouri Intelligencer* the 9th, and the *Missouri Republican* the 10th. Probably the 10th is correct.

got away from them and made for this trading post and they persuing come near overtaking her in sight of the post the men in the house ran out and fired on the Pesueing arrickarees killing (2) others so that Rees considered war was fully declared between them and the whites But genl. Asley thought he could make them understand that his [company] was not responsible for Injuries done by the Misourie fur company But the Rees could not make the distiction they however agreed to recieve pay for thier loss but the geeneral would make them a present but would not pay the Misourie fur companies damages.

"After one days talk they agreed to open trade on the sand bar in front of the village but the onley article of Trade they wanted was ammunition For feare of a difficulty, the boats ware kept at anchor in the stremme, and the skiffs were used for communications Betteen the boats and the shore. we obtained twenty horses in three d[a]ys trading, but in doing this we gave them a fine supply of Powder and ball which on [the] fourth day wee found out to [our] Sorrow

"In the night of the third day Several of our men without permission went and remained in the village amongst them our Interpreter Mr. [Edward] Ross about midnight he came running into camp & informed us that one of our men [Aaron Stephens] was killed in the village and war was declared in earnest But Gnl. Ashley our employer Thought best to wait till morning and go into the village and demand the body of our comrade and his Murderer

"At length morning appeared every thing still undecided finally one shot was fired into our camp the distance being however to great for certain aim Shortly firing became Quite general we seeing nothing to fire at" The Indian homes were frequently called "potatoe holes" because of their appearance, but they provided formidable protection against attacking forces. Ashley's men "had little else to do than to Stand on a bear sand

¹Clyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. Major Joshua Pilcher was in charge of a fort, built by the Missouri Fur Company about 1822, eleven miles above the mouth of the Knife River, named Fort Vanderburgh. It was a trading post for the Crows and Assiniboin. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America 1832-1834*, in *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, Vol. XXII, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), 364.

barr and be shot at, at long range. Their being seven or Eight hundred guns in village and we haveing the day previously furnished them with abundance of Powder and Ball [There were] many calls for the boats to come ashore and take us on board but no prayers or threats had the [slightest effect] the Boats men being completely Parylized. Several men being wounded a skiff was brought ashore all rushed for the Skiff and came near sinking it but it went the boat full of men and water the shot still coming thicker and the aim better we making a brest work of our horses (most) they nerly all being killed."¹⁶ So the efforts to obtain needed horses from the Arikaras ended in disaster. As a result of this unfortunate skirmish, thirteen men were killed and ten men were wounded. The party fell back down the Missouri River and by June 4th had reached a point some twenty-five miles below the Arikara villages. A message for aid was dispatched to Colonel Leavenworth at Fort Atkinson and to Major Henry (Jedediah Smith who had stayed up the river from the previous expedition of 1822 acted as emissary to Henry) at the Yellowstone post. This encounter with the Indians came on the heels of an encounter by Pilcher's men in the territory of the Blackfeet which also ended in disaster. Thus ended the possibility of establishing trapping headquarters on the upper waters of the Missouri at that time.

"General Ashley's financial situation must also have been embarrassing. Only twenty-five packs of fur had been taken during the fall and spring. The summer was passing; the time was mid-August and no furs could be trapped until the fall."¹⁷

With the river closed as an artery of travel, Ashley was confronted with the problem of traveling overland in order to get to the trapping country. It was a serious situation since such a method had not been used before. After much deliberation, Ashley left for St. Louis about the middle of August, seeking new loans with bad news instead of pelts as collateral. He sent part of the remaining party, under Jedediah Smith as captain and Fitzpatrick as second in command, to the upper valley of

¹⁶Clyman, *op. cit.*, p.16.

¹⁷Donald McKay Frost, *Notes on General Ashley, the Overland Trail and South Pass* (Worcester, Mass., American Antiquarian Society, 1945), p. 31. (Excerpts throughout this article quoted from Frost. *Notes on General Ashley* are quoted by permission of the publisher).

the Green River and the other group of men under Henry to his Yellowstone post.²⁸

It was at this point that Ashley's new method of conducting the fur industry came into use. In place of securing furs from the Indians at fixed trading posts which were difficult to maintain in remote regions, Ashley's plan was to send out small self-supporting groups of white trappers, hunters, and traders beyond the mountains where competition would not be so fierce. Each summer all of these groups were to meet at a central rendezvous which could be changed from year to year as necessary. This plan of penetrating further inland of course necessitated a change in the method of transportation from travel by boat up the Missouri River to the use of horses or mules. As long as the well-known routes were traveled, the latter method resulted in tremendous loss of the horses by Indian thievery so Ashley's men attempted to find a less dangerous and more direct pasageway through the mountains.

Their discovery, as far as effective use was concerned, of the famous South Pass was described by Clyman in his "Narrative:"

"Our company coming up we butchered our meat in short order many of the men eating large slices raw we packed up our meat & traveled on untill in the afternoon in hopes of finding water but did not succeed camped all eaving & part of the night continuing on we found we had crossed the main ridge [South Pass] of the Rocky mountain in the mouth of January [February, 1824]"²⁹ The party had now found an easy pass through the mountains and the tramontane country was opened up for their use. The men probably did not realize that they were also opening up the path of empire for the thousands of emigrants who were later to use this pass on their way to the Far West.

Finding the area rich in beaver, the group split into small parties under the leadership of Smith, Fitzpatrick, and Clyman.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 26-27. The Green River is chiefly in Wyoming and Utah. It is the largest tributary of the Colorado.

²⁹Clyman, *op. cit.*, p. 33. This may even have been in March. See Harrison Clifford Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918), p. 88, note 185.

The latter group hunted beaver on the tributaries of the Green River until their horses were stolen. "we continued trapping on foot with fair success for about six weeks when the 10th of June was drawing close and we had promised all who were alive to meet at our cash on Sweet Water accordingly we cashed traps & furs hung our saddle & horses equipments on trees & set out for Sweet water"¹¹ On the way there they luckily recovered their horses from the Indians, returned to their old camp, dug up their cache of furs, and again started for the Sweetwater where they met the other parties. At this meeting which was the forerunner of the famous annual rendezvous, the party found they had collected quite a quantity of beaver fur (100 packs according to Chittenden) which Major Henry took back to St. Louis. The long-sought-for riches in furs had at last started to come in. Major Henry retired soon after this and was succeeded by Jedediah Smith.¹²

Ashley, however, still retained his interest in the expeditions. In 1825 he explored the Green River. Despite the many hardships sustained, his men remained unusually healthy. Ashley explains this in his "Narrative" from St. Louis, December 1, 1825:

"In relation to the subsistence of men and horses, I will remark that nothing now is actually necessary for the support of men in the wilderness than a plentiful supply of good fresh meat. It is all that our mountaineers ever require or even seem to wish Nor have we in the whole four years lost a single man by death except those who came to their end prematurely by being either shot or drowned."¹³

This 1825 expedition of Ashley's was so successful that it enabled him to pay off his debts contracted for earlier expeditions and lay the foundations for a fortune, which was later estimated to be around \$80,000. His triumphal return to St. Louis on October 8 is described:

¹¹Clyman, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The Sweetwater River is in Wyoming.

¹²Chittenden, *op. cit.*, I, 272, 281.

¹³Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 135. (Reprinted by permission of the publishers The Arthur H. Clark Company, from *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, edited by Harrison Clifford Dale).

FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Our fellow-citizen, Genl. Ashley, has just returned from his adventurous enterprize to the Rocky Mountains, bringing with him one of the richest cargoes of furs that ever arrived at St. Louis The furs obtained by him were brought on horses to the waters of the Big Horn, where they were embarked about the middle of Aug. and after a voyage of three thousand miles arrived at St. Louis on the 4th inst. It is thus, by heroic enterprise, Genl. Ashley has indemnified himself for all the losses occasioned by the murderous attack of the Arikara's in the summer of the year 1823.

In the course of his expedition, Genl. Ashley fell in with a party in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, who are believed to have 1000 men in their employment west of the Rocky Mountains. The riches which this company are carrying out of the United States are immense, and beyond all calculation. The single party met with, had taken beaver to the amount of \$200,000.¹⁴

The St. Louisans realized the importance of the fur trade and Ashley's part in it.

The Fur Trade.—Our readers will remember, that on the 4th inst. Genl. Ashley returned from the mountains with the most valuable collection of Furs, ever brought to this place; and unlike many others, led from their object by prosperity, his whole time has been indefatigably devoted to the outfit of another expedition. In the short space of twenty-five days from the time of his return, he has collected together, and organized a most extensive party, consisting of 70 men, 160 mules and horses, with an outfit of merchandize, estimated in all, at \$20,000, which is now ready to depart, and will leave this place to-day or tomorrow, destined West of the Rocky Mountains, for two years.

The amount of capital vested in this single party, will give some idea of the great importance of the Fur Trade to this State. The money circulated by Genl. Ashley, for men, mules, horses, traps &c among our fellow-citizens, will be of the most essential service to them, and their best wishes must follow him for his success and prosperity in this hazardous enterprize.

The Fur Trade is of a great local as well as general importance; and it is surely a serious reflection on the policy of our government, that our own citizens are not permitted to trap upon their own territory, while British subjects are permitted to do so, and carry away immense wealth, which would, under proper regulations, fall into our own hands. The

¹⁴Quoted in Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 140 from the *Missouri Advocate and St. Louis Enquirer*. Ashley came into possession of these furs of the Hudson's Bay Company either through barter for supplies which the British company were greatly in need of, or through confiscating a cache of furs which Ashley's men discovered, according to Chittenden, *op. cit.*, pp. 277, 281. See Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 165 for information on Ashley's fortune.

ensuing Congress, we hope, will take up this subject, and adopt such measures as will effectually secure the advantage of this interesting trade to our own people.²³

This was Ashley's last expedition. He had gone into the fur business to secure a fortune and having made one he decided to retire from active participation. At the summer rendezvous of 1826 he sold his interest in the business to Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson, and William Sublette.

"Exception may be taken to the emphasis upon General Ashley's contribution to the early development of the Overland Trail. He was but the executive of a fur trading business [but] it was Ashley who brought these men together, it was he who, after the disastrous battle with the Arikara Indians in 1823, devised and carried out a new method of conducting the fur trade [the rendezvous] which reaped success from disaster and in so doing found and established the best way across the Continental Divide, and it was he who inspired his lieutenants with a spirit which caused them to be proud always of being known as 'Ashley's men.' His object was profits, but the sardonic humor of Fate has caused his name to be remembered as one who contributed much to the first steps in the acquisition, settlement, and development of the country west of the Mississippi River."²⁴

Ashley was given a great deal of publicity on account of his discovery of a new route to the Pacific. The *Missouri Advocate and St. Louis Enquirer* announced on March 11, 1826:

New Route to the Pacific Ocean discovered by Genl. William H. Ashley, during his late Expedition to the Rocky Mountains

Heretofore, these great barriers of nature, the Rocky Mountains, have been called up in judgment against the practicability of establishing a communication between this point and the Pacific Ocean. But the Great Author of nature in His wisdom has prepared, and individual enterprise discovered, that so 'broad and easy is the way' that thousands may travel it in safety, without meeting with any obstruction deserving the name of a Mountain.

The route proposed, after leaving St. Louis and passing generally on the north side of the Missouri river, strikes the river Platte a short distance about its junction with the Missouri; then pursues the waters of

²³Quoted in Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143. From the *Missouri Advocate and St. Louis Enquirer*, October 28, 1825.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 58.

the Platte to their sources, and in continuation, crosses the head waters, of what Genl. Ashley believes to be, the Rio Colorado of the West, and strikes for the first time, a ridge, or single connecting chain of mountains running from north to south. This, however, presents no difficulty, as a wide gap is found, apparently prepared for the purpose of a passage. After passing this gap, the route proposed, falls directly on a river, called by Genl. Ashley, the Buenaventura and runs with that river to the Pacific Ocean."¹¹

SMITH, SUBLLETTE, AND JACKSON TAKE OVER

Smith, Sublette, and Jackson¹² now, 1826, started to operate in the field which Ashley's men had opened up in 1824. Although they realized that there were still many untapped areas in that region, they had visions of pushing their trapping enterprises even farther west. Unfortunately, they were unaware of the barren nature of the country. Nor were they aware of the fact that there would be a scarcity of beaver there. It was decided to split up the group, with Sublette and Jackson remaining with the main company in the mountains and Smith setting out on an exploratory mission with a few men.

Smith took with him lead animals loaded with articles desired by the Indians.

"I started about the 22d of August 1826, from the Great Salt lake with a party of fifteen men, for the purpose of exploring the country S. W. which was entirely unknown to me, and of which I could collect no satisfactory information from the Indians who inhabit this country on its N. E. borders. My general course on leaving the Salt Lake was S. W. and W."¹³

The Journal of Harrison G. Rogers, a member of the company with Smith on this expedition, gives a list of the articles for the Indian trade:

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 144. There seemed to be some confusion in identifying the Buenaventura River. Ashley first identified the Weber as the Buenaventura but Smith later identified the Sacramento as the Buenaventura. See Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 161, note 316, and p. 237, note 472.

¹²Little is known of David E. Jackson except that from 1823 to 1830 he was in the mountains.

lishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from *The Ashley-Smith Explora-*

¹³Dale, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183. (Reprinted by permission of the publications and Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829, edited by Harrison Clifford Dale.

"Merchandise taken by Jedediah S. Smith for the Southwest expedition, august 15th, 1826.

4 dozen B. Knives	10 lbs. lead
1 paper tax. 2 lbs. beads	55 lbs. powder
1½ dozen looking glasses	55 lbs. tobacco
2. 3 pt. Am. blankets	6 French chissels
3. 2½ pt. Am. blankets	1 fuzie
	1 road shawl

"Merchandise presented to the Eutaw Indians, by J. S. Smith, august 22d, 1826.

3 yards red ribbon	40 balls, arrow points.
10 awls	1 razor.
1 brass handle knife	1 dirk knife
½ lb. tobacco	"

Smith and his party suffered many privations in their endeavors to reach the Pacific coast by means of a southwest route from Great Salt Lake. The men not only had to be on the watch for unfriendly Indians but also had to be careful of not getting caught on Spanish domain. Jedediah Smith finally completed the first recorded journey overland from the Missouri River to California. The party arrived at Mission San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, late in November, 1826.

For almost three years then they explored California and the Oregon country during which time they had many hair-raising experiences. When they finally reached the British Fort Vancouver, all but three of Smith's men had been murdered and their furs stolen by the Indians. With the aid of the British, however, Smith recovered his stolen property, which he then sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. Smith was reunited with Sublette at Jackson's Lake, August 5, 1829, and he met Jackson in the Kootenais country (now northwestern Montana) where Jackson had gone in search of him.

At the rendezvous of 1830 on Wind River, Wyoming, Smith, Jackson, and William Sublette sold out to a group of five

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 193-194. (Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, edited by Harrison Clifford Dale.)

associates, Milton Sublette, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Henry Fraeb, Jean Baptiste Gervais, and James Bridger.^a The three former partners then returned to Missouri. With their large wagon train and their valuable cargo of 190 packs of beaver, they created quite a sensation as they passed through Columbia en route to St. Louis.

Arrival of Fur Traders and Trappers from the Rocky Mountains.

On Tuesday last a large company of trappers and traders from the Rocky Mountains passed through this place, with Furs and Mules valued at *one hundred and fifty thousand dollars*. The cavalcade extended a considerable distance. The gentlemen who fitted out this expedition are Messrs. Smith, Jackson and Sublette, and we are much gratified that they are likely to be so well rewarded for their hazardous enterprise. A considerable number of large and substantial waggons, laden with the fruits of their toils, accompanied them, exclusive of the pack horses and mules, of which there were a great number. We should judge there were about fifty individuals. These hardy and sun-burnt Mountaineers, who had been so long excluded from the pleasures of civilized society, exhibited great demonstration of satisfaction, at their near approach to their families and homes.^b

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY

The five new partners took as their name the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. This seems to have been the first time the name was officially used. The company, however, was very largely a continuation of the earlier company organized by Ashley in 1822 and commonly known and referred to as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

A change was taking place in the fur industry in the early 1830's and competition was becoming more severe. Captains

^aMilton Sublette was a younger brother of the more famous William Sublette. He was an able trader but had to relinquish his profession when one of his legs became diseased in 1834. He died in 1836. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, I, 254.

Henry Fraeb was a member of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company from 1830 to 1834 and was distinguished for his skill and courage. He was killed in 1841 in a battle with some Sioux and Cheyennes. *Ibid.*, p.260.

James Bridger (1804-1881) was considered by many to be the ablest hunter, mountaineer, and guide of the West. In 1843 he founded Fort Bridger on Black's Fork of the Green River in southwestern Wyoming. Late in life he settled on a farm near Westport, Mo., where he died. *Ibid.*, p.259.

^b*Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia) October 9, 1830.

Gant and Blackwell of St. Louis, Antoine Robidoux originally of St. Louis, Nathaniel Wyeth of Boston, and Captain Bonneville, late of the United States Army, all came into the mountain area with their men in search of furs. The powerful American Fur Company with good financial backing dogged the footsteps of the trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, spying out their richest territories.²⁰

Eighteen hundred and thirty-two was the most eventful year in the Rocky Mountain fur trade. In that year the rendezvous was held in the upper part of the valley of Pierre's Hole, in eastern Idaho, with each of the rival companies trying to get its trading goods there first in order to capture the trade. William Sublette arrived there on July 8, well ahead of any other supply train, and as a consequence the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which he was supplying, secured most of the furs.²¹

The famous "battle of Pierre's Hole," which occurred as this rendezvous was breaking up, was described by an eye witness, John Wyeth, a relative of Nathaniel Wyeth:

"On July 17th Captain Wyeth and Captain Milton Sublet set out westward with their respective men to go to Salmon river to winter . . . when they were about moving, they perceived a drove of something . . . when aided by the glass, they recognized them for a body of the *Black-foot* tribe of Indians. As this movement was evidently hostile, Captain Milton Sublet dispatched two men to call on his brother [William] who was about 8 miles off, for assistance . . . We had about five hundred friendly Indian warriors with us, who expressed their willingness to join in our defense."

When the Indians saw the preparations for battle they displayed a white flag as an ensign of peace and the chief advanced toward the whites carrying the pipe of peace. Antoine Godet and the Flat-head chief, who was accompanying the whites, advanced to meet him and while clasping his right hand, treacherously shot him to death.

Wyeth continues: "The battle commenced on the Prairie. As soon as the firing began on both sides, the squaws belonging

²⁰LeRoy R. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People* (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc. [1948]), I, 74. (Reprinted by permission of LeRoy R. Hafen.)

²¹Chittenden, *op. cit.*, pp.296-297.

to the Black-foot forces, retreated about fifty yards into a small thicket of wood, and there threw up a ridge of earth by way of entrenchment, having first piled up a number of logs cob-fashion, to which the men at length fell back After contesting the matter with the warlike tribe about six hours, Captain [William] Sublet found it of little avail to fight them in this way. He therefore determined to charge them at once He led, and ordered his men to follow him, and this proved effectual The Captain was wounded in his arm and shoulder-blade There were seven white men of Sublet's company killed and thirty-five wounded."²⁵

The Indians then began shouting that more Blackfeet were attacking the American's main camp, whereupon the whites went to their supposed rescue and the Indians escaped.

Other Indian attacks, the decreasing supply of beaver, and competition from rival companies finally forced the Rocky Mountain Fur Company out of business in 1834.

SUBLETTE AND COMPANY

In December, 1832, another company was formed by two former associates of Ashley's expeditions. This was Sublette and Company, composed of William Sublette and Robert Campbell. This company was to become the biggest "thorn in the side" of the American Fur Company.

Sublette and Campbell were bold, shrewd fur traders, who had had considerable experience in the West. Moreover, they were men of exceptional business ability and they were backed by General Ashley, then a member of Congress. There were also a number of St. Louis capitalists who were ready to furnish them unlimited credit. There is evidence, too, that they were able to get liquor past the government officials and up the river for trade with the Indians.

They prepared to combat the American Fur Company with superior equipment at every point, their principal trading posts being on the Platte River at the mouth of the Laramie and on

²⁵John B. Wyeth, *Wyeth's Oregon, or a Short History of a Long Journey* in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1748-1846* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), XXI, 69-72. (Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from *Early Western Travels* series, Vol. XXI edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites).

the Missouri River near the mouth of the Yellowstone, where they established Fort William in opposition to Fort Union, between two and three miles away.

In the spring of 1833 the company divided its forces, Campbell taking a party to the mountains where he met the Rocky Mountain Fur Company at the Green River rendezvous and Sublette ascending the Missouri in the steamboat *Otto* to establish posts in competition with the American Fur Company.²⁸

Charles Larpenteur, the clerk of the party which ascended the Missouri, describes the situation of a new enlistee in the service:

" . . . I signed an article of agreement for 18 months, for the sum of \$296 and such food as could be procured in the Indian country—that excluded bread, sugar, and coffee."²⁹

McKenzie, in charge of Fort Union, near the mouth of the Yellowstone, tells in a letter of January 21, 1834, of Sublette's auspicious start: "Sublette and Campbell arrived here August 29th, and soon fixed on a site for their fort which they have built two miles below me and called Fort William. They came up in great force with a very large outfit and abundance of alcohol and wines highly charged with spirits. They engaged the three young Deschamps as interpreters at salaries of \$500 per annum each, and Tom Kipland at \$600. They had, moreover, a full complement of clerks and seemed prepared to carry all before them, nothing doubting but that they would secure at least one half of the trade of the country."³⁰

However, McKenzie was prepared to pay as high as \$12 for a beaver skin and he was well on the way to driving Sublette and Company out of the Upper Missouri when his home office at St. Louis, frightened at the formidable opposition, came to terms with Sublette. In a letter to McKenzie dated April 8, the St. Louisans explained: "By the enclosed agreement you will see that we have concluded an arrangement at New York with Mr. Sublette. We take such of his equipment in mer-

²⁸Chittenden, *op. cit.*, pp.350-354.

²⁹Charles Larpenteur, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, edited by Elliott Coues (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1898), I, 11. Larpenteur (1807-1873) was born in France and came to America in 1818 and St. Louis in 1828. (Reproduced by permission of Mr. Lathrop C. Harper for the estate of Francis P. Harper.)

³⁰Chittenden, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

chandise, utensils, etc., as remains at the close of the season's trade and we retire from the mountain trade for the ensuing year In making this arrangement our object was to keep Sublette from purchasing a new equipment and from connecting himself with houses that were making him all sorts of offers. His reputation and that of his patron, Ashley, whatever may be the cause, are far above their worth. Nevertheless such is the fact and it is enough to procure them unlimited credit. It is this which induced us to offer to buy them out."³⁰

This was probably the only arrangement ever entered into by which territory was divided among rival fur traders and although it was only for a term of one year it indicates the importance of Sublette and Company. By this agreement Sublette and Campbell withdrew from the Upper Missouri. The new company henceforth, from 1834 to 1842, concentrated its activities in the broad area of the Rocky Mountains.

Although little further information is available concerning this company, it is to be presumed that it was successful during its ten-year existence for both Sublette and Campbell succeeded in amassing fortunes during their lifetimes. The company went out of existence in 1842.

³⁰Chittenden, *op. cit.*, pp.353-354.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS**MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP**

During the period from May 12, through July 31, 1949, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

TEN NEW MEMBERS

Suttle, Harry L., Springfield

SIX NEW MEMBERS

English, W. Francis, Columbia
Dyer, Clyde P., Webster Groves

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Amos, James R., Springfield

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Motley, Mrs. Robert L., Bowling Green

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Coffman, Robert M., Grandview

ONE NEW MEMBER

Alewel, Louis E., St. Louis	Page, Walter F., Kansas City
Barnhill, F. C., Marshall	Pigg, E. L., Jefferson City
Coon, Walter J., Springfield	Rigg, W. B., Fayette
Dilliard, Irving, Collinsville, Ill.	Sage, F. DeLass, Joplin
Haley, Frank C., Louisiana	Schultz, Mrs. Raymond, St. Louis
Hobbs, Mrs. John W., Jefferson	Settle, William A., Tulsa, Okla.
City	Shoemaker, Mrs. Floyd C.,
Jeppard, P. H., Springfield	Columbia
Johnson, Mrs. I. L., St. Louis	Stigall, Mrs. L. E., Springfield
Keeley, Mrs. Mary Paxton,	Stine, Adele H., Webster Groves
Columbia	Wadsworth, Laura Ellen, Flat
Kleine, H., Jr., Slater	River
Larkin, Paul H., Centerville	Winkelmaier, Robert C., St. Louis
Munger, George, Bloomfield	Wood, Guy M., St. Louis

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

One hundred and two applications for membership were received by the Society during the period from May 12, 1949, through July 30, 1949, inclusive. The total annual members as of July 30, 1949, is 4939.

The new members are:

Altaffer, Dale, Springfield
Anderson, M. Marie, Springfield
Banks, G. H., Netherlands
Bergfield, Ruby, St. Charles
Bermond, Glenn, St. Joseph
Black, J. A., Lesterville
Blair, James T., Jr., Jefferson City
Bliss, George M., Kansas City
Boone, Paul, Gainsville
Brady, Daniel E., Columbia
Brady, Walter, St. Louis
Bresnahan, Thomas F., Jr., Kansas City
Brown, Charles A., Jefferson City
Byrnes, Thomas L., St. Louis
Coffman, R. R., Lawson
Coon, James T., Springfield
Cottingham, Mrs. Gertrude, Renick
Crabbs, Leo B., Jr., Jefferson City
Crisswell, E. H., Tulsa, Okla.
Cross, H. J., Sappington
Cupp, John I., Marceline
Dean, Ezra B., Bucklin
Draper, Kate, Lebanon
Duff, Emmett E., Houston
Eldredge, H. O., Waynesville
Flournoy, William, El Paso, Texas
French, Charles B., St. Louis
Gardner, J. M., Westfield, N. J.
Glasscock, Mrs. Dewey, Miller
Greene, Lorenzo J., Jefferson City
Gullick, Lucy E., Hartville
Guyot, Mrs. J. DeVoine, Jefferson City
Hanna, A. J. & Kathryn Abbey, Orlando, Fla.
Hartman, Vladimir, Columbia
Heer, Mrs. F. X., Springfield
Hindman, Albert H., Kansas City
Hinkel, Mrs. Beryl W., Granby
Humberg, William M., Webster Groves
Hume, Joe H., Slater
Jacquin, Mrs. W. J., Louisiana
Johnson, Roger L., St. Louis
Jones, Orville, Grove Springs
Kelly, Harry B., Jr., Anderson
Kraft, Harold D., Mountain Grove
Klingner, John B., Jr., Springfield
Lawson, Dunward P., St. Louis
Lay, Mrs. Charles, St. Louis
Lay, Mary, Warsaw
Lyle, Edward E., Kansas City
Maddox, Mrs. Gretchen, Bowling Green
McDonald, Robert C., Eolia
Mecker, Mrs. Louis, North Kansas City
Miller, Marie F., Jonesburg
Mills, Ralph W., Springfield
Minchin, H. Cotton, Kansas City
Morgan, Temple P., Tampa, Fla.
Morse, Theo. W., Mound City, Kansas
Moss, D. H., Phoenix, Arizona
O'Connors, Gaylord, Louisiana
Orr, James H., Stotts City
Permenter, Edward D., Bloomfield
Phillips, A. P., Orlando, Fla.
Pilant, Richard, Muncie, Ind.
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Redfield, Maynard G., St. Louis
Reed College Library, Portland, Ore.
Robertson, Mrs. Charles M., Bowling Green
Schuette, Donald, Blackburn

Scott, Mrs. Inez, Springfield
 Seibt, Oradelle B., St. Louis
 Seymour, L. E., Kansas City
 Seymour, Otto C., Joplin
 Shewe, Margaret, Webster Groves
 Shreve, Mrs. Truxton B., Denver,
 Colo.
 Sisson, Mrs. J. H., Dexter
 Sitton, Mrs. Cal, Bowling Green
 Small, William A., Ferguson
 Smith, George W., Springfield
 Snider, Amos J., Columbia
 Sprowls, LeRoy, Springfield
 Stratton, John, Otterville
 Stukenbroeker, George H., St.
 Charles
 Tapee, Mary G., St. Joseph
 Taylor, Mrs. Cecil B., Clifton
 Forge, Va.
 Toman, M. E., Kansas City

Thompson, Scerial, Harrisburg, Ill.
 Tice, Mrs. James E., Brentwood
 Torsee, Francis, Guthrie
 Underwood, Wanda Dell, Spring-
 field
 Upton, Mrs. Wilma, Bolivar
 Utley, Mrs. Ruth G., Springfield
 Vogt, Mrs. Leo J., Webster Groves
 Walker, Howard L., Flat River
 Walker, N. Earl, Nixa
 Wall, Marilyn H., Springfield
 West, Gertrude, Springfield
 White, Hollis L., Columbia
 Wightman, Maurice, Columbia
 Wilcox, Mrs. Hazel, Columbia
 Williamson, Frederick, Ferguson
 Wilson, Mrs. Andrew, Arlington,
 Va.
 Womack, Leland B., Jr., Houston

AS OTHERS SEE US

Clifford L. Lord, executive secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, has written a review of Floyd C. Shoemaker's recent book, *The State Historical Society of Missouri: A Semicentennial History*, for the March issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. This review gives not only an appraisal of the book but points out some of the achievements of the State Historical Society of Missouri as compared with those of Wisconsin. Feeling that it would be of interest to our membership to see what others think of us, we are reprinting the review in full:

"Here is an interesting addition to the limited literature on the history of historical societies in this country: the life story of the society which since 1937 has occupied an enviable position as the largest organization of its kind in the United States and probably—statistics are lacking—in the world. It is largely the story of the lifework of Dr. Shoemaker who has been secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1915, or for thirty-three of the society's fifty year life.

"The book is divided appropriately into four sections covering the beginnings, the foundations, the expansion, and the

modern period of "fruition and maturity" of a state society. It is an impressive story of accomplishment, of building collections, of enlisting support and public recognition, of creating an effective vehicle for the dissemination of information about Missouri's heritage. The society, interestingly enough, was a child of the Missouri Press Association, and Missouri's newspapers have long continued an active interest in the affairs of the society, contributing to its collections, furnishing the first seven presidents, and rendering effective support without which, in the opinion of the author, "it is conjectural whether the Society would have survived its first two decades." The unanimous support of the Press Association and the subsequent editorial backing of its members helped substantially in putting over the program of the society in 1913-1914 for a new building to be shared, as in Wisconsin, jointly with the university library.

"The discerning reader will enjoy the numerous references to the Wisconsin society and note frequent parallels in the story of the two organizations: the slow building up of endowments, the continuing fight for adequate state support, handsome participation in the state's centennial, the establishment of a joint catalog with the university library (which lasted only three years in Missouri), a great collector for an early secretary—a Sampson for a Draper, a continuing publication program comparable to ours in average annual output, and encouragement for the founding of local societies.

"There have been marked divergencies, too, in which Missouri has pioneered fields long before Wisconsin took them up. Its magazine was started in 1906, twelve years before ours, and changed to an illustrated cover six months ahead of Wisconsin. Its successful newsfiller, "This Week in Missouri History," antedates our "Wisconsin Historical News" by sixteen years, is a weekly instead of a monthly, and has been consolidated in its first series into *Missouri, Day by Day*, a much used and popular reference work. It was one of the seven founding organizers of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Its "Who's Who in Missouri," a biographical card index, antedates and is more comprehensive than ours. Its newspaper subject index is something we have long wished to emulate. It undertook the

historical survey and preparation of a set of highway markers as early as 1931.

"It does not operate the state museum, though in recent years it has acquired collections of Benton and Bingham paintings and the cartoon collection of Daniel R. Fitzpatrick. It is not the state archives nor does it handle the state's public records program, though it received the archival documents surviving the capitol fire of 1911. Its library is less than half the size of ours, but, starting late, it has built up a strong collection, featuring the Sampson, Bay, and Mark Twain collections. It has no junior program, but like Wisconsin serves the state as its public document exchange agent. Throughout its career, particularly in the last three decades, it has stressed popular appeal in combination with scholarly production, and has felt free to experiment in fields in which most historical societies have not ventured until the case had been proved in Missouri. These, perhaps, are the major reasons why as of June 30, 1948, the membership of the Missouri society stood at a national peak of 4,212. This little book summarizes a record of achievement of which our Missouri colleagues, and particularly their long-time secretary, can well be proud."—*The State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Clifford L. Lord, Director.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES

Topics which vary from one on early mound builders in Missouri to the very unheroic hazard of the frontier—the itch—make up the weekly historical feature articles compiled by the State Historical Society and published in the newspapers of the state. The early uses of the old courthouses, physicians and quacks in early Missouri, the story of Augustus Storrs—trail blazer—are the material for other articles released during July, August, and September as follows:

July: "Hop—Two—Three—Scratch," and "County Court-house Served as Home of Court Procedure and Courtin' in Early Days."

August: "The \$64 Question—Who Were the Missouri Mound Builders?" and "Augustus Storrs—Trail Blazer."

September: "Missouri Scissor Artists," and "Quacks vs. Physicians in Early Missouri."

THE STORY OF MISSOURI'S STATE SONG

The "Missouri Waltz" has at last come into its own and been declared the state song of Missouri. Passed by both houses of the 65th General Assembly, the bill naming it as the official song was signed by Governor Forrest Smith, June 30, 1949.

There has been a great deal of mystery connected with the origin of the old familiar waltz and various stories have appeared from time to time purporting to carry the true facts of its inception. After Harry S. Truman became President of the United States and it was discovered that the "Missouri Waltz" was his favorite song, the stories appeared with increasing regularity. Most of the versions agree on the fact that the song was first arranged and published by Frederic Knight Logan, a noted musician of Oskaloosa, Ia., who had picked it up from John Valentine Eppel, an orchestra leader of Fort Dodge, Ia. According to one version of the story appearing in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of October 21, 1945, which was reviewed in the *Missouri Historical Review* XL (April, 1946), 443-444, Eppel learned the melody from a Missouri Negro who in turn had been taught the tune by his mother. Around Moberly, citizens insist that the original composer was Dab Hannah, a Negro piano player, but in Oskaloosa some say that Henry Clay Cooper, a negro dancing teacher, gave the melody to Logan.

The latest story concerning the "Missouri Waltz" comes from an article by Chester A. Bradley in the *Kansas City Star* of March 29, 1949, and reprinted in the July, 1949, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*. According to Bradley, the late Edgar Lee Settle of New Franklin, a gifted piano player who traveled with musical shows, obtained the tune from the DiArmo sisters, a musical team on his theatrical circuit, who in turn had been given it "by an old darkey down South." J. Boulton Settle, Edgar's brother and editor of the *New Franklin News*, insists that Edgar composed the piece which he called the "Graveyard Waltz." According to Bill Corum of the *New York Journal*, who is quoted by Bradley in his article, Edgar was playing it in Moberly one evening when John Eppel heard it and used it with his orchestra from then on.

The story of the song is well-known after Frederic Knight Logan received it. In 1914 the Forster Publishing Company

of Chicago secured the rights to the melody from Logan and with lyrics composed by Jim Shannon, it appeared in 1916 as the "Hush-a-Bye Ma Baby" song with "Missouri Waltz" printed as a subtitle in parenthesis. It soon swept the country and became the second most popular sheet music seller from the day of its publication to the present. And now it will go down in history as the State Song of Missouri.

ST. JOSEPH HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

Judge G. L. Zwick, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, was the leading spirit in the formation of the "St. Joseph Historical Society" which held its organization meeting August 8 in the Corby building. Prompted by the approaching sale of the Pony Express Stables on August 22, the society has for its objective the preservation of local landmarks and documents of historic value in St. Joseph and Buchanan County. Temporary chairmen Zwick named Arthur V. Burrowes as chairman of the nominating committee and Marshall Carder as chairman of the committee on the constitution and bylaws.

The first regular meeting of the society was held the following Monday, August 15, when officers were elected as follows: Bartlett Boder, president; Miss Mary Louise Reichert, first vice-president; Webb Wheeler, Jr., second vice-president; Glenn Burgess, secretary; and George U. Richmond, treasurer.

The constitution proposed by the committee was accepted with one change—lowering the dues from \$1 to 50 cents. Three project committees were then appointed: one headed by Lee Starnes to determine the authenticity of the Pony Express Stables, another under Miss Regina Read to investigate the Beauvais house built by Joseph Robidoux, and a third under Gilbert Rethemeyer who volunteered to study the Apex-Buffalo, a St. Joseph tavern in continuous use for eighty years. The society voted to affiliate with the State Historical Society.

Both the *St. Joseph News-Press* and the *St. Joseph Gazette* have given the new society liberal encouragement through their columns in news stories, pictures of historic places in St. Joseph, and editorials in the period August 7-18 and the local

chamber of commerce has taken action to assure the members that their first project, the preservation of the Pony Express Stables, will be successfully completed.

GIFTS

A number of items from the inauguration of Harry S. Truman as President and Alben W. Barkley as Vice-President, January 20, 1949, were sent to the State Historical Society of Missouri by Melvin D. Hildreth, general chairman of the inaugural committee. These items include Copy No. 58 of the limited deluxe edition of the 41st inaugural program, a facsimile of an account in *The Maryland Gazette* of May 14, 1789, of the first inaugural ceremonies, two tickets to the inauguration, a booklet detailing the troops and organizations in the line of march, an "inaugural committee badge," and one of the official inaugural medals showing the profile of President Harry S. Truman encircled by forty-eight stars.

Frederick A. Culmer of Fayette has presented the State Historical Society of Missouri with a gift of some papers of historical interest which were given to him in 1933 by Mr. N. W. Leonard. Composed of 106 items covering the period from 1797 to 1890, the gift includes two copies of the will of Pierre Chouteau, Sr., executed in 1849, and numerous bills against different individuals. Also included is an old store account book, presumably from about 1856, a gift of Mrs. N. W. Leonard, who found it in the attic of the old Carson home in Fayette. Most of the papers included in the gift were once the property of Abiel Leonard (1797-1863), an outstanding Whig leader of Howard County, who became judge of the supreme court of Missouri in 1855.

Mrs. Kate H. Swaney of Kirksville has donated to the State Historical Society a collection of thirty-nine pamphlets, broadsides, manuscripts, and other political material relating to Missouri politics and government, 1860-1890.

The State Historical Society has received as a gift from the Rose O'Neal Estate, eight books either written

or illustrated by the late Rose O'Neill, artist, writer, sculptor, and designer whose home was at Bonniebrook in Taney County. These books are *Garda* (1929), *The Kewpie Primer* (1916), *The Kewpie Kutouts* (1912), and *The Kewpies and the Runaway Baby* (1928) written and illustrated by Miss O'Neill. Others illustrated by her and sent to the Society are *Sing a Song of Safety* (1937) by Irving Caesar, *Tomorrow's House* (1930) by George O'Neill, *Our Baby's Book* (1914), a booklet published by *Woman's Home Companion*, and *A Little Question in Ladies' Rights* (1916) by Parker H. Fillmore.

Rose O'Neill was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., but at the age of nineteen came to Taney County where she lived at intervals until her death in 1944. She began as an illustrator in 1896 and later drew for such magazines as *Good Housekeeping*, *Collier's*, *Frank Leslie's*, *Life*, and *Harpers Monthly*, *Bazaar*, and *Weekly*. She also illustrated a number of books and was the author of several novels, books of poems, and children's books. However it was for her "kewpie dolls," created about 1909, that she was probably most famous as they became known around the world. On January 7, 1947, Bonniebrook, the O'Neill home, was destroyed by fire and with it most of the O'Neill collection of original dolls and books.

The Minute Book of the St. Louis Central Riverfront Improvement Association and other papers which give the background of the riverfront development movement in St. Louis have been donated to the State Historical Society by Mr. E. J. Wallace of St. Louis, the association's first president after its founding May 12, 1933.

A copy of the master's thesis of James Madison Wood, Jr., dated May, 1947, has been given to the Society by the author via Mrs. Ruth Rollins Westfall. Entitled *James Sidney Rollins: Civil War Congressman from Missouri*, it brings out Rollins' importance as a Union Border State leader during the Civil War as well as a moderate in Congress with regard to the treatment of the South.

GRADUATE THESES RELATING TO MISSOURI

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY GRADUATE THESES, 1947-1948

The masters' theses accepted by St. Louis University during 1947-1948 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

Hasenplue, Kathleen Angela, *The Girls' Home, Saint Louis, Missouri, 1853-1947.*

Neenan, Robert Patrick, S. J., *Problems of the Spanish Regime in the Middle Mississippi Valley, 1762-1803.*

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY GRADUATE THESES, 1947-1948

The masters' theses accepted by the University of Kansas City during 1947-1948 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

Charvat, Arthur, *The Growth and Development of the Kansas City Stock Yards; A History, 1871-1947.*

Stubbs, Roy Manning, *English Travellers in Western America, 1865-1900.*

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI GRADUATE THESES, 1947-1948

The masters' theses accepted by the University of Missouri during 1947-1948 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

Banks, Loy Otis, *Latter Day Saint Journalism.*

Bartley, Andrew Jackson, *Review of the Missouri State Tax Commission.*

Dugger, Harold Holmes, *Reading Interests in Eastern and Central Missouri prior to the Civil War.*

Harris, James Griffith, *The Justice of the Peace in Missouri, 1800-1845.*

Hill, Leslie Gamblin, *The Pioneer Preacher in Missouri.*

Lanser, Roland Louis, *The Pioneer Physician of Missouri 1820-1850.*

Mahan, Lessie Dee Jones, *A History of Southwest Baptist College 1878-1946.*

Reynolds, Gilbert Hewitt, *The History of Slavery in Cole County, Missouri.*

Stout, Howard Holleran, *Elections in Selected Southern Ozark Counties of Missouri, 1870-1904.*

Welden, Lloyd Washington, Sr., *Rhetorical Aspects of the Silver Debate in Missouri: 1896.*

The doctoral dissertations for the same period are as follows:

Geiger, Louis George, *The Public Career of Joseph W. Folk*.
Westover, John Glendower, *The Evolution of the Missouri Militia 1804-1919*.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE THESES, 1947-1948

The masters' theses accepted by Washington University during 1947-1948 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

Bates, Jefferson D., *Noah M. Ludlow: Man and Actor*.
Maxwell, Hazel P., *Housing and Attitudes toward Housing in St. Louis and St. Louis County*.
Meyer, Richard H., *The Missouri Evangelical Lutheran Mission in China*.
Parks, Thomas E., *The History of St. Louis, 1827-1836*.
Wells, Eugene T., *The Santa Fe Trail 1855-1860*.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boonslick Historical Society met May 20 in Christ Episcopal Church in Boonville to hear Professor Lewis Johnson of Central College tell of the life and exploits of Colonel Benjamin A. Cooper, the first white settler in the Boonslick country.

The Cole County Historical Society held its annual spring meeting in the Missouri hotel ballroom on May 11. Professor Lew Chase of Hayward, California, spoke on "History Can Be Interesting."

On May 29 the society sponsored a Home and Garden tour of ten of Jefferson City's most beautiful homes, for the benefit of its building fund. It is hoped to make the tour an annual event. The Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune* of May 22 carried pictures of five of the homes to be visited and the names and locations of others included in the list.

The Historical Association of Greater St. Louis held its annual dinner meeting at Webster College, May 19, when Professor Thomas Neill of St. Louis University gave his presidential address on the subject "Juan Donoso Cortes on the Evolution of Socialism." New officers of the society were then elected

as follows: Howard McKee, president; Anthony Czajkowski, first vice-president; Dietrich Gerhard, second vice-president; Mary York, recording secretary; Mrs. A. B. Bender, treasurer; and W. E. Kettelkamp, corresponding secretary.

The Native Sons of Kansas City held a dinner meeting in the Pine Room at the Union Station on June 16. Homer Croy gave a talk on "Speaking of Our Natives."

ANNIVERSARIES

A huge birthday party, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the founding of McDonald County and of Pineville, was held July 2-4. A feature of the celebration was a parade July 4, depicting the life of the county from early days.

August 7-14 was a gala week in Lebanon as the city celebrated its centennial with a pageant given August 7, 8, and 9 and many other events. Charles W. Green of Moberly was director of the centennial program. A history of the town and county, *The First Hundred Years*, by Miss Frances E. Gleason, was published by the centennial committee headed by Jean Paul Bradshaw. The work is an unusual contribution to local history and presents the origin and growth of this prosperous inland town of the Ozarks over a period of one hundred years. The town was named in honor of Lebanon, Tennessee.

The centennial celebration of SS Peter and Paul's Catholic Church, St. Louis, was observed June 5 with a solemn pontifical mass attended by approximately 1,500 persons. Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter spoke at the service, the Reverend Thomas Fox of Hannibal delivered the sermon, and the pastor, Msgr. Andrew H. Teobben, assisted in the mass.

The 100th anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Des Peres was celebrated May 22 with all-day services. Founded by a group of German emigrants in 1849, the first church was a log cabin. A new church was erected in 1866 and the present one in 1938.

St. Paul's Evangelical and Reformed Church of St. Louis observed its 100th anniversary in 1948 with appropriate ceremonies and the publication of a handsome booklet giving the highlights of the growth and expansion of St. Paul's.

The 100th anniversary of Providence Baptist Church near Withers Mill was celebrated July 17 with an all day service and basket dinner at noon. Although received into the Baptist Association in 1849, the congregation did not have a church building until 1852. In 1895 the church was remodeled and an addition built.

One hundred years of Royal Arch Masonry in St. Joseph was celebrated April 25-27 when the Grand Chapter of Missouri, meeting in St. Joseph, joined with the 835 members of Mitchell Chapter to observe the centennial.

A dinner to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance company in St. Louis was held in the Park Plaza hotel in that city September 17. The printed program for the event included a picture of Stratford Lee Morton and a short appreciation of his forty years with the company.

The eighty-fifth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Rolla opened May 11 with a fellowship dinner. On Sunday, May 15, special anniversary services were held with Rev. G. Scott Porter, pastor, speaking on the theme "Strength from the Past."

A special service, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Calvary Episcopal Church, Columbia, was held Sunday, June 5, with the Reverend Ned Cole delivering the sermon. The congregation was organized May 25, 1855, and in 1898 the present church was erected.

NOTES

The Louis Bolduc home in Ste. Genevieve, has been bought and turned over to the Missouri Society of the Colonial Dames

of America for restoration as a museum. Interesting features of this old French home are the porch around three sides, the stone lean-to kitchen, and the solid log ceiling over part of the house.

A great western history museum for St. Louis in connection with the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial is the dream of Dr. Carl P. Russell, superintendent of Yosemite National Park, according to an article by R. Wilson Brown in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of July 21, 1949. Dr. Russell's interest in the project began in 1932 when some research on the history of Yellowstone Park showed that St. Louis was the "Gateway to the West" through which most of the fur traders and explorers came. When, therefore, as chief of the museum division of the National Park Service in 1936, he was approached by John Nagle, superintendent of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, on the subject of a museum for St. Louis, he entered into the project with enthusiasm. Research for the proposed museum led Dr. Russell over the United States, Canada, and even Europe on a fellowship from the Carl Schurz Memorial and in December will appear the results of those labors in the publication of the first of three volumes. Volume one will deal with trade goods and trapper equipment, volume two with people and places, and volume three with procedures and methods. Financed by the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial and Russell himself, the author expects the volume to be printed and issued by the federal government.

"Welcome Home Omar" day was celebrated in Moberly July 1 when General Omar N. Bradley and his wife returned there for the dedication of the Bradley Trophy Room in the Moberly Public Library. Met at the Omar N. Bradley Airport by about 100 friends and a fourteen-member detail of the 175th Military Police Battalion of the Missouri National Guard, the famous general and his wife proceeded to the Trophy Room where ceremonies were held and then to a dinner for 200 at the Merchants Hotel. In the evening, General Bradley spoke to an audience of 1000 in Tannehill Park.

Both the House and Senate of the 65th Missouri General Assembly adopted resolutions June 16 to join with the Audrain County Fair Association and Governor Forrest Smith in honoring Tom Bass, the world-famed Missouri horseman who died fifteen years ago. The dedication of a stone to mark his grave in Elmwood cemetery, Mexico, was a feature of the Audrain County Northeast Missouri Fair held in Mexico, August 9 to 12.

Jackson's Point, the first building site in Mound City where a log cabin was erected in 1870, is now identified by a marker erected by William Elder, the owner of the present building on the site.

The theme of the eighth grade exercises of the John Scullin school in St. Louis on June 15, 1949, was the St. Louis Public Library. Directed by Miss Stella Michel, the program included readings by members of the class on periods in the library's history and appropriate songs by the Girls' and Boys' choruses.

Notification has been received of the organization of the Ozark Folklore Society in June of this year. Officers of the society are: John Gould Fletcher, Fayetteville, Ark., president; Vance Randolph, Eureka Springs, Ark., first vice-president; Paul Faris, Hendrix College, Ark., second vice-president; and Robert L. Morris, Fayetteville, Ark., secretary-treasurer. The society is making plans for a two-day festival to be held in the spring of 1950 and annually thereafter.

Homer Croy, author of the most recent book on the James boys—*Jesse James Was My Neighbor*, and state comptroller Elmer L. Pigg, to whom the book is dedicated, were honored at a dinner in Liberty, June 13. Sponsored by the Lions Club of Liberty, the dinner was held in celebration of the first release of the book by the publishers, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, Inc. The main feature of the dinner program was an expert's round table question-and-answer period on the James brothers' history.

Clearwater Lake near Piedmont in southeast Missouri was formally opened on May 29 with both state and federal officials taking part in the ceremonies. The construction of a dam on the Black River has created this new recreation center.

"The Steamboat House," one of Pettis County's oldest homes, has been razed. Built in 1859, it was patterned after the steamboats then popular on the Missouri River.

Floyd C. Shoemaker addressed the "citizens" of Missouri Boys State on June 20, at their tenth annual citizenship training project held this year at Kemper Military School, Boonville.

Bulletin No. 5 of the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, released July 1, 1949, is a seventy-six-page alphabetical list of the materials in the manuscript collection. Including papers of eight Missouri governors, personal papers of leading citizens, archival material, diaries, pictures, and other matter of great historical interest, this list will be of great assistance to the research student.

The Lebanon Rustic-Republican published on August 5 a "Laclede County Centennial Edition" in honor of the county's hundredth birthday. Made of up six sections, adding up to a total of eighty pages, the edition devoted one division each to general information, agriculture, home and building, transportation, dairy, and business. Interesting information was given on the history and development of Laclede County, of Lebanon, and of its churches, hospitals, and business establishments. Pictures of several of Lebanon's former citizens who had attained prominence, hospitals, schools, factories, and banks added further interest to the edition.

An article by Mrs. Adella Breckenridge Moore, "Moses Austin and the Lure of Lead," has been incorporated in the *Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 81st Congress, First Session*, as an extension of the remarks of the Hon. A. S. J. Carnahan of Missouri, in the House of Representatives Monday, March 21, 1949. The article is a sympathetic story of Austin's life and accomplishments.

Missouri Shows You: A Guide to the State is the title of a 168-page booklet recently compiled by the Missouri Recreation Association, Inc., and distributed by the Missouri State Resources and Development Commission. In presenting a cross section of Missouri, the booklet divides the state into fifteen areas, each named for some outstanding person, event, or scenic spot. A good road map is provided for each area and an up-to-the-minute description of a number of its most progressive towns. The addition of articles on Missouri's forestry resources, hunting, recreation, fishing, mineral resources, transportation, agriculture, and history makes this a useful and attractive invitation to visit Missouri.

An attractive reprint of the November, 1948, issue of *The Palimpsest*, a monthly publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was made for the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. On the front cover appears a picture of "Log Cabin Seminary—Perry County, Missouri," and on the back an "Air View of Concordia Seminary at St. Louis." The printed matter gives a short history of the Missouri Synod with particular emphasis on the Iowa districts.

"Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" is the title of a twenty-seven page historical program reviewing the fifty years of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri. Compiled by Mrs. J. L. Jones of Blackburn, it gives many of the interesting details of the period from 1891 on, even before the Missouri Confederate "daughters" united with the national group.

An interesting little booklet has been obtained by the Society from Edna McKinley of Liberty. It is a copy of the *James L. Stephen's Missouri Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1853*. Besides giving a prophecy of the weather for 1853, day by day, and the signs of the zodiac, the almanac includes the times of holding court in Missouri and Illinois. Stephen's advertisement, on the back page, of his "Cash Store" contains his argument for the cash system: "I positively knew two small towns, almost directly opposite each other where one sold articles at least twenty-five per cent. higher than the other. On in-

quiry, however, I found that one done an exclusive cash and produce business, whilst the other, that sold highest, done a general credit business, the customers of which were, with their high prices, always behind, and not in a condition to cross the river, even though they could have gotten their articles at half price, and I have determined therefore, that the credit system is one of the worst evils tolerated by a free and intelligent people."

James L. Stephens was a pioneer merchant in Columbia from 1843 to 1857. He made a generous endowment to the Columbia Baptist Female College, which was renamed Stephens Female College, then simply Stephens College.

Old McKendree Chapel and graveyard, near Jackson, are sites worth visiting according to an article in the *Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian* of July 1. The chapel was erected between 1806 and 1810 and the property for the graveyard was deeded even earlier.

A very good article, "Cole County Historical Society Museum Ranks Favorably with Institutions of Much Greater Age," appeared in the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune* of July 17. The article describes a few of the antique pieces of which the historical society is proud and gives a short history of the society from its founding in 1941.

The Lexington Advertiser-News of July 18 describes an exhibit of pictures of historical Lexington on display at the Chamber of Commerce office in that city. The prints, photographed by Lester Jones of the Historical Buildings Survey, were obtained from the Library of Congress.

The *Liberty Advance* on May 23, 1949, issued a William Jewell College Centennial edition of three eight-page sections. Pictures of early Baptist leaders and teachers, and views of the campus at the turn of the century and at the present time were interspersed with articles on the rise of college athletics and campus organizations, the college museum, the changed condition of women since 1849, Southern Baptist convention history,

and a chronology of the college from its beginning. Especially interesting was an article by Mrs. Robert Withers on "Clay County and William Jewell College Histories Intertwine," in which she tells the highlights of the college and county history over the years.

The *Mexico Evening Ledger* won three national awards in the National Better Newspapers contest sponsored by the National Editorial Association held at St. Lake City early in June. The awards were: first place in the Community Service division; second place for the second straight year in the Best Editorial division; and third place in the Herrick Editorial Award division.

An article in the *Mexico Evening Ledger* of June 10 gives the story of the party staged for Mary Margaret McBride, a native of Paris, Missouri, and a former Mexico newspaper-woman, by the National Broadcasting Company, May 31, on the occasion of her fifteenth anniversary on the air. Forty-two thousand women and 1,000 men were present in New York's Yankee Stadium when Miss McBride was given citations from the governments of Haiti, the Virgin Islands, and the city of Vienna, Austria, for her humanitarian work.

An editor who turned his hand to writing a book of poetry in order to raise money for a friend's wife is the subject of an article by Elijah L. Jacobs in the *Kansas City Star* of June 24. Myron Coloney, commercial editor of the St. Louis *Evening News*, wrote *Manomin a Rhythmical Romance of Minnesota, the Great Rebellion and the Minnesota Massacres*, to provide funds for Mrs. Darling, the widow of Andreas Darling who was killed in 1864 by Dick Kitchen's band of bushwhackers while employed as an overseer of Coloney's farm near Rolla, Missouri.

William H. Jackson, "pioneer photographer of the old west," was honored August 8 by the dedication in his honor of a memorial wing of the Scotts Bluff National Monument museum, in western Nebraska. This wing, built with \$10,000 given by the late Julius F. Stone of Columbus, Ohio and \$2,000 more

from public subscriptions, under the direction of the National Park Service, contains Jackson's personal mementoes, some of his wet plate photographs, sketches, and more than 100 water-colors of scenes from western Missouri to the Pacific. An article by Colonel E. P. Gempel in the *Kansas City Times* of July 27 described the approaching dedication and gave highlights from the life story of Jackson who lived to be ninety-nine and was able to review from an airplane the old Oregon Trail which he had traveled as a bullwhacker.

Square-dancing, enjoyed by the English hundreds of years ago, and introduced into France in the 18th century and into the new world as immigrants came over from Europe, is enjoying a revival, according to an article on the subject by Roger Swanson in the *Kansas City Times* of June 13. City-sponsored square-dancing was introduced into Kansas City in 1944 where it immediately became popular; in fact by 1948 it was estimated that 72,000 persons in that city had learned to "honor, allemande and do-si-do."

The *St. Louis Star-Times* of June 8 featured the Cole County Historical Society museum in an article entitled "Mecca for Visitors." In justifying this heading the article cites the fact that more than 6,000 persons have visited the museum since its opening a little over a year ago.

An article on Missouri's many beautiful springs appears in the spring number of *Rayburn's Ozark Guide*. Entitled "Famous Springs in the Ozarks," it locates each spring and gives pictures, by Gerald Massie, of the most outstanding of them.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Old Cahokia A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History. Edited by John Francis McDermott (St. Louis: The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949. 355 pp.) Cahokia has been fortunate in having such an able corps of editors portray the first century or more of her 250-year-old history through the use of hitherto unknown or untranslated documents. John Francis McDermott's intro-

ductory chapter on the village itself, Father Donnelly's three chapters on the founding of Holy Family Mission, the old burial records, and Monk's Mound, Rose Josephine Boylan's on life in the little town, Brenda R. Giesecker's on business activities of Charles Gratiot, Charles van Ravenswaay's on Fort Bowman, and Irving Dilliard's on two interesting Cahokia law cases of the mid-nineteenth century all focus attention on the importance of this early French settlement in the development of the Mississippi Valley. An authentic picture as well as an interesting one is the result.

John Priest Greene. By John F. Herget. (Liberty, Mo.: William Jewell Press, [1949]. 195 pp.) It is by a strange coincidence that 1949 marks the 100th anniversary both of the founding of William Jewell College and of the birth of John Priest Greene whose life was so intimately bound up with that of the college through his thirty years as president, his eleven years as president-emeritus, and his nearly fifty years as trustee. Written by one of "his boys," Dr. Herget, who was himself president of William Jewell for fourteen years, the book is a warm, personal tribute to the eminent preacher, educator, author, and friend to whom "power . . . [was] a responsibility, not a privilege." Numerous anecdotes and stories illustrative of Dr. Greene's humor, kindness, and Christian ideals enliven this story of his life which includes also a "Foreword" by Walter Pope Binns, a "Preface" by Chester J. Prince, and four of Dr. Greene's most representative sermons.

Jesse James Was My Neighbor. By Homer Croy (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949. 313 pp.) This journalistic account of the legend of the James boys provides a most readable resume of the careers of Jesse and Frank James, who became the nation's most hunted outlaws. The exploits of these two Missouri brothers are now a part of the song and story of American folklore. Homer Croy's version of the goings on makes up in interesting wordage and wry humor what it lacks in historical finesse.

While he makes only two brief references to Maj. John N. Edwards, Missouri newspaperman who wove the chivalric le-

gend around Jesse and Frank James, Croy weaves his yarn on the Edwards loom of sympathy for Jesse, tempered with occasional reminders that crime does not pay. Croy's picture is as interesting a one as has ever come out of the intermingling of fact and fiction which makes up the James legend.

Across the Plains in Forty-nine. By Reuben Cole Shaw. Edited by Milo Milton Quaife. (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1948. 169 pp.) Unlike the diarys of the other forty-niners, this narrative was written fifty years after the author had crossed the plains and it was first published in a series of articles in the Farmland, Indiana, *Enterprise* in 1895. In spite of inaccuracies of detail, it is of value for the beauty of its word-pictures used in describing western scenes such as the "sunshine, silence and sage" of the desert, for its wealth of detail on the Indians encountered, and for the wit and humor with which the human interest stories are told. Milo Milton Quaife, who has carefully edited the volume for the Lakeside Classic series, has also added a great deal to its value by a thirty-six page "Historical Introduction" giving a short history of the discovery of gold in California, a sketch of the author's life, and a scholarly comparison of Shaw's story with other written accounts of the same period.

Footprints on the Frontier. By Sister M. Evangeline Thomas. (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1948. 400 pp.) Beginning with the establishment of the Sisters of St. Joseph in 1650 in Puy-en-Velay, France, and the foundation of their first American motherhouse in Carondelet, Missouri, in 1836, this volume gives a record of their pioneer work in establishing schools and hospitals from New York to Kansas. Published to commemorate the silver jubilee of the establishment of Marymount College in Salina, Kansas, the book is well organized and documented.

Midwest Heritage. By John Drury. (New York: A. A. Wyn, Inc., 1948. 176 pp.) The attractive format of this volume, including its reproduction of over 300 old engravings, etchings, and pictures from historical collections and magazines,

entices the reader, but the text is a little disappointing. In the sections devoted to Missouri, errors are noted in both the text and the captions accompanying the pictures. However, as an overall view of our western heritage, sketched in with bold strokes, the book is entertaining and worthy of scrutiny.

Mountain Man. By Verne Bright. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948. 190 pp.) This musical narrative poem describes an epoch in the history of the West—that of the hardy mountain men who blazed the trail for the later migrations. Additional interest is secured by the introduction of a semifictional character, Jefferson Boone, the grandson of old Daniel, who has "the gray wild goose in his heart" and who, because of it, leaves his Missouri sweetheart to range the West, and finally to marry an Indian princess. Apparently based on extensive research, this poem enlivens the saga of the West by its excellent portrayal of frontier philosophy, customs, and language.

Manon's Daughter. By Chaille Payne Robinson. (Chicago: Cloud, Inc., 1947. 328 pp.) St. Louis during the days of the Louisiana Purchase is the backdrop for this story of the life of Antonina, Manon's beautiful daughter, who is scorned by all save the men in the village. The skillful portrayal of characters such as Madame Chouteau and her sons, Governor De-lassus, and Capt. Meriwether Lewis gives authenticity to this story of turbulent love which ends with Antonina accepting Madame Chouteau's unspoken advice, and going on to a new life of respectability through marriage with "Kentucky."

How I Cook It. By Virginia McDonald. Edited by Eleanor Richey Johnston. (Kansas City: Frank Glenn Publishing Co., Inc., 1949. 256 pp.) The complimentary introduction by Duncan Hines, the short history of Gallatin and Virginia McDonald by Eleanor Richey Johnston, and the author's own story of why she wrote the book are merely hors d'oeuvres to sharpen one's appetite for the treat to come—412 of the most delectable recipes imaginable under one cover. Mrs. McDonald discloses many of the secrets which have made her tea room in

Gallatin famous, ranging from decorative "turnip calla lilies" to more prosaic, if anything made by Mrs. McDonald could be prosaic, broiled steak.

America's Heartland the Southwest. By Green Peyton. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. 286 pp.) Intended as the introductory volume in a projected series on the culture of the Southwest, this general survey of the five states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico gives a great deal of worthwhile information on the region and gives it so interspersed with intimate stories of the people, the art, the cities, the newspapers, etc., that the reader enjoys himself immensely. With a journalist's flair for the unusual, the author describes the early cattle industry and its first attempt to connect with the nearest railhead west of the Mississippi at Sedalia, Missouri; the later discovery of the bonanza in oil; and finally the industrialization of the region, which he thinks may bring a more lasting, though less spectacular prosperity, than either cattle or oil. In the words of the author, the Southwest is America's heartland because it is "the repository of the passion that inspires us as a nation . . . freedom is the essence of this country."

OBITUARIES

EWING CHARLES BLAND: Born in Washington, D. C., May 17, 1882; died in Kansas City, Mo., June 2, 1949. The son of the late Richard P. (Silver Dick) Bland, he was a graduate of the National University of Law in Washington in 1903. He was admitted to the bar in the same year and moved from Lebanon, Missouri, to Kansas City where he was elected judge of the municipal court in 1912 and again in 1914. He served as judge on the Kansas City Court of Appeals from 1916 until the time of his death and was from 1944 to 1947 presiding judge.

MICHAEL E. CASEY: Born in Jersey Shore, Pa., Feb. 1, 1870; died in Kansas City, Mo., June 14, 1949. Coming to Missouri in 1876, he was educated in the Kansas City public schools and in the Kansas City School of Law. He served

as a member of the Missouri House of Representatives from 1903-1909, and as a member of the Senate from 1909 until his retirement in 1944.

WILLIS HENRY CLARK: Born in Kent Co., Mich., Nov. 20, 1861; died in Dallas, Tex., July 21, 1949. Working for a time as a cattle driver on the old Chisholm Trail, he came to Missouri in 1879 and was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1888. From 1898 to 1902 he served as judge of the St. Louis Court of Criminal Correction.

MATHILDE C. GECKS: Born in 1867 (?); died in St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 3, 1949. Assistant superintendent of instruction in the St. Louis public schools from 1929 to 1943, she had been supervisor of primary instruction in St. Louis, 1904-1922. From 1922 to 1929 she was a teacher in the summer school of New York University where she received an M.A. degree in 1926. She was elected the first woman president of the Missouri State Teachers Association in 1917.

BAYLIS THORNTON GORDON, JR.: Born near Liberty, Mo., Oct. 16, 1884; died in Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 3, 1949. Admitted to the bar in 1908 after his graduation from the Kansas City School of Law, he served in the Missouri House of Representatives, 1915-1919, in the Senate, 1921-1937, and again in the House, 1943-1945. He was an advocate of progressive agricultural legislation and of programs for the betterment of crippled and handicapped children.

MRS. IRA B. HYDE: Born in Princeton, Mo., Mar. 26, 1901; died in Princeton, Mo., June 17, 1949. A graduate of the University of Illinois, she taught for several years in the schools at Princeton. In a special election held in April, 1946, she was chosen to succeed her husband, who had died in February, 1946, as a member of the Missouri House of Representatives.

MRS. ALICE CORBIN HENDERSON: Born in St. Louis, Mo., 1881 (?); died in Tesuque, N. Mex., July 18, 1949. Associ-

ate editor of *Poetry* magazine, 1912-1916, she was the author of a number of books among which are: *Red Earth*, *The Sun Turns West*, and *Brothers of the Light*.

GEORGE COLLIER HITCHCOCK: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 28, 1867; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 26, 1949. Educated at Smith's Academy (St. Louis), St. Paul's School (Concord, New Hampshire), Yale, the St. Louis Law School, and Harvard Law School, he was admitted to the bar in 1894. From 1899 to 1902 he was assistant United States Attorney and in 1908 he was elected a circuit judge for a six year term. Until a year ago he was head of the board of the Missouri Botanical Garden. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1912.

ELLIOTT WOOLFOLK MAJOR: Born in Lincoln County, Mo., Oct. 20, 1864; died in Eureka, Mo., July 9, 1949. The thirty-third governor of Missouri, 1913-1917, he attended Watson Seminary at Ashley and was later given an honorary B.S. degree by Wesleyan College at Warrenton. After studying law under the Honorable Champ Clark, he was admitted to the bar in 1885, became state senator, 1897-1901, and attorney general 1909-1913. In the latter office he carried to a successful conclusion the prosecution of the Standard Oil and other trust cases which had been instituted by his predecessor in that office. During his administration as governor, he recommended and the legislature passed bills creating a Missouri Public Service Commission, a state highway department, a commission for the blind, and a board of pardon and paroles. Other bills passed included: additional reforms in the penal system, five laws contributing to better schools, and measures enabling the state to receive federal grants under the Smith-Lever Act.

WALTER MILLER: Born in Ashland County, Ohio, May 5, 1864; died in Columbia, Mo., July 28, 1949. A graduate of the University of Michigan where he received his M.A. degree in 1884, he also studied at Leipzig and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. He received an LL.D. from the University of Arkansas in 1916 and a Litt. D. from the Uni-

versity of Michigan in 1932. A teacher of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit at the University of Michigan, Stanford University, Tulane University, and the Summer School of the South at Knoxville, he taught one year at the University of Missouri in 1891 and then returned in 1911 to stay until his retirement in 1936. Besides being professor of classical languages and archaeology he was dean of the graduate school from 1914 to 1936. He was president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 1911, associate editor of *The Classical Journal*, 1905-1933, editor, 1933-1935, and the author of many books and articles some of which are: *The Theater of Thoricus*, *Latin Prose Composition for College Use*, and *A History of the Akropolis of Athens*.

MRS. WALTER McNAB MILLER: Born in Zanesville, Ohio, Sept. 2, 1862; died in Columbia, Mo., June 22, 1949. Educated at Putnam Seminary, Zanesville, she also took special work at the University of Nevada, Stanford University, the University of Missouri, and the universities at Leipzig, Prague, Paris, and London. Mrs. Miller was an officer of many committees, both state and national, dealing with child health and welfare and tuberculosis. She was the first vice-president of the National American Women Suffrage Association, president of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association, and president of the Association of Women in Public, 1926-1928. In 1948 she was named one of the twenty-two outstanding women of Missouri by the Group Action Council of St. Louis. She also was a contributor to *Survey* magazine.

DON DENHAM PATTERSON: Born in Macon, Mo., 1895 (?) ; died in Siesta Key, Fla., May 18, 1949. A graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 1917, he taught at St. John's University in Shanghai and established Asia's first college newspaper there. He was for twelve years national advertising director for Scripps-Howard. At the 39th annual Journalism Week ceremonies in Columbia in 1948 he was given an Honor Award for Distinguished Service in Journalism.

EDWARD R. SCHAUFLER: Born in Kansas City, Mo., June 20, 1889; died in Kansas City, Mo., July 6, 1949. Be-

ginning his newspaper career as a reporter on the *Leavenworth Times* in 1910, he later went with the Kansas City *Journal-Post* and then became a free lance writer, interesting himself mainly in historical articles on Missouri incidents and personalities and those of Kansas City in particular. In 1943 he published a book of verse, *Poems from My Own Heart* and in 1945 a biography, *Harry Truman, Son of the Soil*.

PAUL SUPER: Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Jan. 18, 1880; died in New York, Mar. 17, 1949. Moving to St. Louis at the age of two years, he graduated from St. Louis Manual Training School and then from the University of Missouri in 1903, where he was student YMCA secretary. He was national director of the Polish YMCA, 1922-1946. Forced to flee from Poland in 1939, he continued his work in eight different countries for Polish relief. Decorated by the Polish government, he is the author of a number of books on Poland and the YMCA: *See Poland Next*, *Elements of Polish Culture*, *The Polish Tradition*, and *Outline of the YMCA Principles and Policies*.

CHARLES B. WILLIAMS: Born in Miss., July 1, 1870; died in St. Louis, June 25, 1949. Educated at the University of Mississippi, he came to St. Louis in 1900 and was admitted to the bar the same year. He was elected judge of the Eighth District in 1932 for a six year term, was reelected in 1938, and again in 1944.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED WEST OF ST. LOUIS

From the *Kansas City Star*, July 1, 1949. Excerpts from an article by John Edward Hicks.

The frontier town of Independence, Mo., was the site in 1833 of the printing press which turned out the first book printed in that immense territory between St. Louis and the Pacific coast.

Written by Joseph Smith, founder and head of the Mormon Church, the work was titled, *A Book of Commandments, for the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized According to Law, on the 6th of April, 1830 . . .*

The title page bears the inscription: "Zion, published by W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833." Zion was the name by which the Mormons knew Independence when in accordance with a revelation said to have been received by Smith, it was decided in July, 1831, to buy lands and settle in that 4-year-old town

Establishment of a printing office was among the first things on the agenda. In Cincinnati, W. W. Phelps, having been selected as printer, bought a press and other material for producing a monthly publication, *The Evening and Morning Star*

In the meantime, a committee consisting of Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer and Phelps had been selected to edit the revelations for the proposed *Book of Commandments*. Preparations were almost finished when the printers received a letter on June 25, 1833, signed by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and F. G. Killiams, saying that it would not be necessary to have the book bound as "they will be sold well without binding"

Within a month, on July 20, 1833, an anti-Mormon mob attacked the printing plant and destroyed nearly all of the printed sheets of the book only three copies of the completed book are known to exist

One of the three known copies of the *Commandments* is in the William Robertson Coe collection of Western Americana recently placed in the library of Yale university. The collection was begun in 1910 Now comprising more than 7,000 volumes valued at 1½ million dollars, Mormon literature and Mormon imprints are represented by some 900 titles among [which] is a complete set of *Times and Seasons*, published at Nauvoo, 1839-46, a complete file of the *Frontier Guardian*, [and] a complete file of the *Deseret News*, 1860-76

NO "OLD GRAY BONNETS" FOR CLAY COUNTY

From the *Liberty Tribune* December 9, 1948.

Clay County's oldest church building is being torn down

Big Shoal Baptist church, eight miles southwest of Liberty, was founded May 21, 1823, by Elder T. Thorp, a pioneer "hard-shell" Baptist. The brick building which has stood for 94 years was erected in 1854 at a cost of \$2,200 but has been unused for regular meetings for twenty years or more.

The *Clay County, Missouri, Centennial Souvenir* book, edited by Mrs. Robert S. Withers, printed in 1922, contains information about the old church:

"One of the interesting events associated with the Big Shoal church was the Bonnet Show. For more than eighty years the display of new bonnets at the annual spring meeting was sufficient to cause the May service to be called the 'Bonnet Show.' This was the great event of the year for the community. Some of the bonnets worn by the belles of that day are treasured relics in Clay county homes today. Many were works of art, coming from Paris via St. Louis and Missouri River steamboat. Interest in the day waned with the passing of the bonnet and the coming of the motor car.

"The last service of this kind was in May, 1917. It was presided over by Elder W. Pence who baptized one new member. In the early days, crowds filled the church yard but this last time by the middle of the afternoon when the Bonnet Show services were formerly at the height, the church was as silent as the cemetery by its side."

During the past twenty years the old church building has stood neglected and uncared for A year ago a wind storm about wrecked the old building and blew off most of the roof.

The last meeting of the church trustees occurred May 28, 1939, at which time an effort was made to turn the property over to the Clay-Platte association. The motion, however, failed to pass

THE "WHAT WILL THEY THINK OF NEXT" DEPARTMENT

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, March 13, 1868.

We understand that the Trustees have recently purchased a sufficient number of coal oil lamps to light Broadway from the Methodist Church to the Presbyterian Church. They have made the contract with Mr. D. P. Palmer to furnish each lamp with sufficient oil to keep it burning all night and see that they are lit up and properly attended to.

These lights above spoken of will be ready for use in about ten days or two weeks—when the streets of Columbia will look "gasey," and not deceive their looks.

NEWS—A SENATOR IGNORES POLITICS

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, July 4, 1873.

After the close of the literary exercises at the University on Tuesday night 24, a large number of our citizens, gentlemen and ladies, assembled in the parlors and yard of the Phoenix Hotel accompanied by the Columbia Silver Cornet Band, for the purpose of tendering the compliment of a serenade to Hon. L. V. Bogy, U. S. Senator, and members of the Board of Curators.

Loud calls were made for Senator Bogy, who appeared on the balcony and was introduced by Col. Switzler. The Senator proceeded to address the people in regard to our educational institutions, beautiful town, &c., very properly ignoring politics altogether. Brief speeches were also made by Col. Colman, Senator Ladue, Mr. Barrett, Dr. Wyman and Mr. Crane of the St. Louis *Democrat*, and Col. Switzler.

THE THINGS YOU CAN PICK UP IN A SECONDHAND STORE . . .

From the *Clinton Henry County Democrat*, May 5, 1898.

Sedalia has just bought a fairly good second hand park for \$21,000.

SO THERE !

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, August 7, 1879.

Moberly is crying aloud for water works. But what use they have for water up there, when they have thirty saloons, is more than we can imagine.—*Sturgeon Leader*.

If all her visitors were from Sturgeon no water would be needed, but you should remember that Moberly entertains strangers from elsewhere.—*Moberly Monitor*.

A NICE ITEM IN A TROUSSEAU

From the *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, February 5, 1858.

Husk beds—

No one who has not tried them, knows the value of husk beds. Certainly mattresses would not be used if husk beds were tried. They are not only more pliable than mattresses, but are more durable. The first cost is but trifling. To have husks nice, they may be split after the manner of splitting straw for braiding. The finer they are split, the softer will be the bed, although they will not be likely to last as long as when they are put in whole. Three barrels full, well stowed in, will fill a good sized tick, that is, after they have been split. The bed will always be light, the husks do not become matted down like feathers, and they are certainly more healthy to sleep on . . .

It is calculated that a husk bed will last from twenty-five to thirty years. Every farmer's daughter can supply herself with beds (against the time of need) at a trifling expense, which is quite an inducement now-a-days.

ANNIE BROWN MUST HAVE BEEN THE GOOD INFLUENCE

From the Sedalia *Daily Democrat*, July 5, 1872.

The *St. Joe Herald* has the following marriage notice in a recent issue:

"Mr. Charles Lenoir, alias Charles Huffenbaugh to Miss Jessie Alander, alias Annie Rovengraft. Also, Wm. B. Gibson, alias Billy Roach, to Miss Annie Brown. The ceremony was performed in elegant style by pastor Burnett."

PIONEER BEEF TRUST

From *The Liberty Advance*, November 3, 1947. Excerpts from an article by Robert S. Withers.

With the passing of the game as a dependable article of food, the demand for fresh meat during the summer became urgent and as one thing can often make another possible, the ice house brought in the Beef Club [It] consisted of twelve members. They met at some neighbor's and organized early in the spring [when] they determined the size of the beef, the date to kill it and the place of butchering. Then they drew two sets of lots. The first determined who should kill the first beef and the second was to determine the share of the beef that each would get on the day of the first killing.

It was nearly always agreed that the beef to be butchered should be a fat heifer, weighing a little over 600 pounds divided into twelve shares. At the place of killing a freshly peeled pole was affixed about six feet from the ground and twelve iron hooks affixed. These hooks were numbered from one to twelve and the same pieces of beef were hung on the same hook every week. The number of the share the member drew designated which number he had to start with and he advanced each week

The club always ran for 12 weeks [so] every member received all the cuts of beef during the season.

The man who killed and butchered the beef had to build a pen to put the animal in and a windlass to raise the carcass up from the ground as it was skinned and drawn.

For these services he always received the hide and the tallow

Each share amounted to a little more than 20 lbs. Before [each member] left home he had taken a large earthen jar and had sunk it through the sawdust till the bottom rested on top of the ice in the ice house and as soon as he got home, he salted down and placed his share in this jar.

Always when the 12 weeks were up . . . the members put up their individual share of the piece of another beef (the thirteenth one) and once again drew lots for their shares He was a pretty bad actor who couldn't be satisfied with his treatment, so bad that next spring when the club was formed, he was mighty apt not to be asked to come in.

The condition and the size of the beef to be slaughtered was always left to the butchers. If the animal wasn't good enough the member had to take it home and provide one that was up to the requirements. . . . I remember in our club one member never failed to send a poor thin heifer and when he was told to take it home always did so quite cheerfully, but the next year would do the same thing again, just kept thinking that some time he would get by.

There was another feature connected with beef clubs It was always the old men, the heads of the families and the leaders of the neighborhood who came. On the grass and on the top of the rail-killing pen in the delightful shade they met once a week and talked over neighborhood, political, national, and international affairs.

If you and I can bring to bear on present problems the same honest, hard-headed, sane judgment they used then, there would be no need for fear of our future.

BOYS WILL BE BOYS

From the *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1879.

All Fools Day was duly observed yesterday. Even staid and dignified Representatives laid aside their dignity, and put up practical jokes on their fellow-members. Several members went forward to the Speaker's chair to find they had been hoaxed; while others stepped to the lobby, under the impression that ladies had sent for them, and they too learned, after blushing apologies, that they too had been sold.

AN OLD "PUBLIC OUTCRY" BILL

From the *Ochiltree County Herald*, Perryton, Texas, April 28, 1949.

We are indebted to G. T. Leatherman for this old sale bill copy, which came originally from his home state of Missouri. Dated in 1854, text of the sale bill, or "public outcry" is as follows:

State of Missouri, County of Pike.

To whom it may concern:

The undersigned will Tuesday, September 20, 1854, sell at public outcry for cash on premises, where Coon creek crosses on the Missouri road, the following chattel, to-wit:

Nine yoke of oxen with yoke and chain, two wagons with beds, two nigger wenches, 4 nigger bucks, 3 nigger boys, 2 prairie plows, 25 steel traps, 1 barrel of pickle cabbage, 1 hogshead of tobacco, 1 lot of nigger hoes, 1 carpet weaver loom, 3 fox hounds, a lot of coon, mink and skunk skins and a lot of other articles.

HOUSE FOR RENT—CHEAP

From the *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1873.

Yesterday we had the privilege of testing rumored phenomena at the Executive Mansion which are unprecedented, so far as we have heard. Everything at the Executive Mansion, which is metallic, emits electricity! The chandeliers, the door knobs, the railways for the doors, and the stair carpet rods emit flashes and give shocks, which are accompanied by reports whenever touched. The phenomena commenced about three weeks ago. The matter has astonished everybody.

Natural causes, of course, we are bound to think, produce these phenomena. Nevertheless, people would like to have our savans settle the difficulty. What makes the Executive Mansion a grand electrical battery? Let some wise body rise and explain.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THAT COMMITTEE?

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, March 13, 1868.

Washington, D. C., Feb., 20, 1868.

W. A. Kendall, Esq., Clerk City Council, St. Louis:

Dear Sir: Your favor inclosing resolutions of the City Council in relation to the removal of the Capitol of the Nation to the county of St. Louis, was received today.

The resolutions were presented to the House of Representatives, and referred to the proper committee.

We cannot carry a measure of this kind until after the Southern States are admitted and the apportionment of 1870 takes effect. Then, I am confident, we shall be strong enough to control the matter in the west, and have very little doubt that St. Louis will be the place fixed upon for the permanent capitol.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Wm. A. Pile.

THE DAYS BEFORE "THE MERRY MORTICIAN," NO DOUBT

From the *Clinton Henry County Democrat*, January 27, 1898.

The *Columbia Statesman* demands that the dissecting room at the State University should be closed to all but medical students and those directly interested in that department, and says:

At present the arrival of a stiff at the University is the signal for the gathering of many sports who revel in the ghastly exhibition, either to develop or to satisfy a morbid curiosity. The youths of the town who keep uncertain hours after nightfall should be forbidden the freedom of the dissecting room.

HOW LOOSE IS "LOOSE"?

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, August 19, 1879.

The Greenback pic-nic at Hickory Grove in the northeastern corner of Boone county on Wednesday was not so largely attended as some anticipated, yet those present spent a very enjoyable day—Geo. M. Wright, presiding. Before the basket dinner, which was excellent and abundant, M. Y. Duncan, of Mexico (editor of the *Press*) delivered a flowery Greenback speech, but a very good one; and after dinner Edward Haley of Audrain, (the bell-weather of the flock) let himself loose for quite a time in a style peculiarly Haley's.

BUT WAS IT WORTH IT?

From the *Stanberry Gentry County Headlight*, February 1, 1899.

A St. Clair county man who last week became the father of triplets wrote to Gov. Stephens and asked him if the State paid any reward for such heroism. The Governor referred the matter to the Senate, and it was voted unanimously that each Senator give one dollar for the support of the children, which they did. Lieutenant-Governor Bolte and Secretary Roach each chipped in a dollar, and Governor Stephens contributed \$14 to make the amount even \$50.

AND NOW ANYONE WOULD GIVE THEIR EYE-TOOTH TO WIN ONE

From the *Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican*, January 2, 1836. Reprinted from the *St. Louis Bulletin*.

We were much pleased with a visit a day or two since to the Painting Room of Mr. Bingham, on Market-street, where we found some as good portraits of a few of our well known citizens as we could expect to see from the pencil of any artist, as young in the profession as Mr. B.

HOME ON THE RANGE

From the *Glasgow Howard Union*, June 22, 1865.

They are getting up a party of 120 men at Leavenworth to start "a buffalo drive," about the 10th of August. Each man is to furnish his own horse, arms, personal outfit and \$200. They propose to go upon the plains, "drive" from 5,000 to 10,000 buffaloes, herd and tame them and bring them into the States. The President of the Association, W. J. Holman, says the thing can be done, and that each man who invests his \$200 has a fair promise of \$3,000 in return. The expedition expects to be out from eighty to one hundred days.

THE "FIRST" KINDERGARTEN CONTROVERSY

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* February 25, 1949.

A question as to who should get credit for opening the first Kindergarten in the United States was raised today by Dr. William G. Swekosky, dentist and an authority on early St. Louis history.

Up to now it has been widely conceded that Miss Susan Blow, who started a kindergarten at the old Des Peres public school in September 1873, had a clear claim to the honor. Now, however, Dr. Swekosky contends that her class was a good eight years behind the one started by the South St. Louis Turner School and Kindergarten. It was begun in 1865, in a building at Ninth and Julia streets.

Germans who settled in South St. Louis purchased the site for their school from Henry Soulard, Dr. Swekosky said. Soulard was a member of the family for whom both the market and the street are named. The idea of opening a kindergarten was not new to the immigrants, since pre-grade classes for children were introduced in Germany in 1837.

The building in which the Turner School and Kindergarten was opened still stands, but is now a garage. The old Des Peres School, at Michigan avenue and Iron street, houses a restaurant, and a portion of it is occasionally used as a public meeting hall.

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 29, 1949.

Through a news article in the Post-Dispatch it has been questioned whether the kindergarten established by Susan Blow at the Des Peres school in 1873 was the first one in the United States. At Des Peres school the first public kindergarten was founded. On the word "public" (meaning tax-supported) rests the authority of the claim.

Many students of early kindergarten history know that the pre-school training methods used by Friederich Froebel in the late 1830's were transplanted to America through some of the German immigrants who established small private classes in the mother tongue, a category to which the kindergarten established by the South St. Louis Turner School and Kindergarten, at Ninth and Julia streets in 1865, evidently belonged.

America educators also founded early private classes: . . . The little private kindergarten class that Susan Blow established in her home (the Blow mansion in Carondelet) in the spring of 1873 became the nucleus around which the Des Peres school class was formed in the fall of that year.

From Supt. William Torrey Harris' Annual Report of the Board of Public Schools for the year 1876-77 we learn:

In 1873 at the Des Peres school, in one kindergarten-room, there was an unpaid director (Susan Blow); one paid teacher (Mary Timberlake,

principal primary teacher of the school); two unpaid apprentices (Syntia Dozier and Sally Shawk) and 30 boys and 38 girls as pupils

In 1876 there were 30 kindergartens in the St. Louis School System, with two supervisors reporting to Miss Blow

H.B.D.

THE ANCESTOR OF THE "DRIVE-IN"

From the *Kansas City Times*, July 11, 1949. Excerpts from "Missouri Notes" written by Chester A. Bradley.

Drive-in theaters are being opened in more Missouri towns and in some of them the days of the airdome are being recalled. Such open air theaters were the drive-ins of the stock company days when live talent took over the stage to entertain with thrillers, comedy, or any plot in the books.

The airdome was not a drive-in, but it met the need of having a cool place to present a show in summer. Seats usually were arranged in tiers and U-shaped before the stage, the only covered part of the theater. When a storm came you got a rain-check good for some other night in the week. When it didn't rain you sat under the stars on a hard seat and batted at bugs and the heat with a cardboard fan supplied by the management—with the compliments of various advertisers.

But the show was the thing and the troupers good enough to present at least three different plays a week and do them well.

The "fresh buttered popcorn" industry was not so well developed but you could "buy cracker jack here" and "fresh roasted peanuts." There was lemonade between acts. Soda pop began to appear in the last days of the outdoor, 1-week stands by stock companies.

Boys could get a free ticket, even two of them by passing out handbills advertising the show during the day, or a small fee by serving as ushers in the stands.

The airdome also made an ideal place for a summertime political meeting, but that was in the days when candidates spoke with lung power and without the aid of electric-powered sound amplifiers.

Like the stock companies and vaudeville, the airdome went out with the advent of the movies.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

The American, June: "'Ripsnorting News' *The Lamar Democrat*," by Don Eddy.

Atlantic, November, 1947: "The Love Letters of Mark Twain," edited by Dixon Wector; *ibid.*, December, 1947; *ibid.*, January, 1948.

Bulletin Missouri Historical Society, April: "The Diary of Mat Field Part II," by Wm. G. B. Carson; "Pictorial Billheads"; "A Silver

Crown for the Statute of the Virgin," by the Reverend Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J.; "Gold Fever: the Letters of 'Solitaire,' Goldrush Correspondent of '49, Part II" edited by John Francis McDermott; "Independence, Missouri, in 1838."

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, July: "Karl Kretzmann, D.D."

Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, June: "Missouri."

Life, July 11: "Bess Truman and Her Town," by Lillian Rixley.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, April, 1948: "Literary Travellers in Louisiana between 1803 and 1860," by Florence Roos Brink.

Mark Twain Quarterly, Winter-Spring: "My Methods of Writing," a letter by Samuel L. Clemens; "Splendid Days and Fearsome Nights," by Svend Peterson.

Rayburn's Ozark Guide, Spring: "Famous Springs in the Ozarks"; "Fifty Beauty Spots in the Ozarks."

The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, April: "Beyond the Strife—the Correspondence of George C. Stedman and William Torrey Harris," by Kurt F. Leidecker.

The Santa Fe Magazine, January: "Missouri—America's Midland Meca," by J. R. Hubbard.

Time, May 30: "Devid Red & Plain Ben," (Ben Jones, famous Missouri horse trainer.)

The Westerners Brand Book Chicago Corral, May: "Communications with the West—a Recurrent Pattern."; *ibid.*, June: "Legends of the Missouri and the Mississippi."

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